

Republican Club



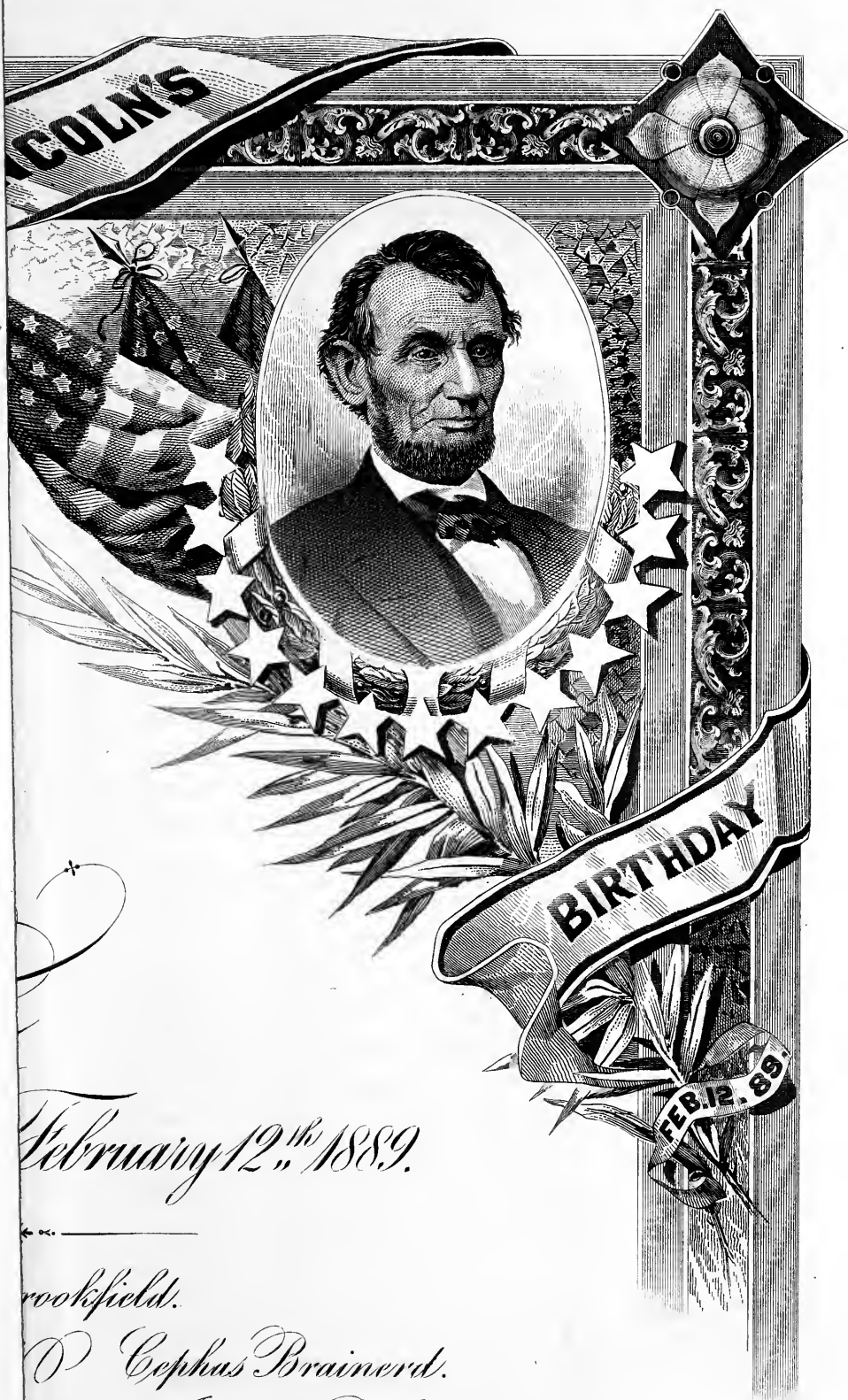
DINNER



EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTHDAY OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

12th February, 1889



February 12th 1889.

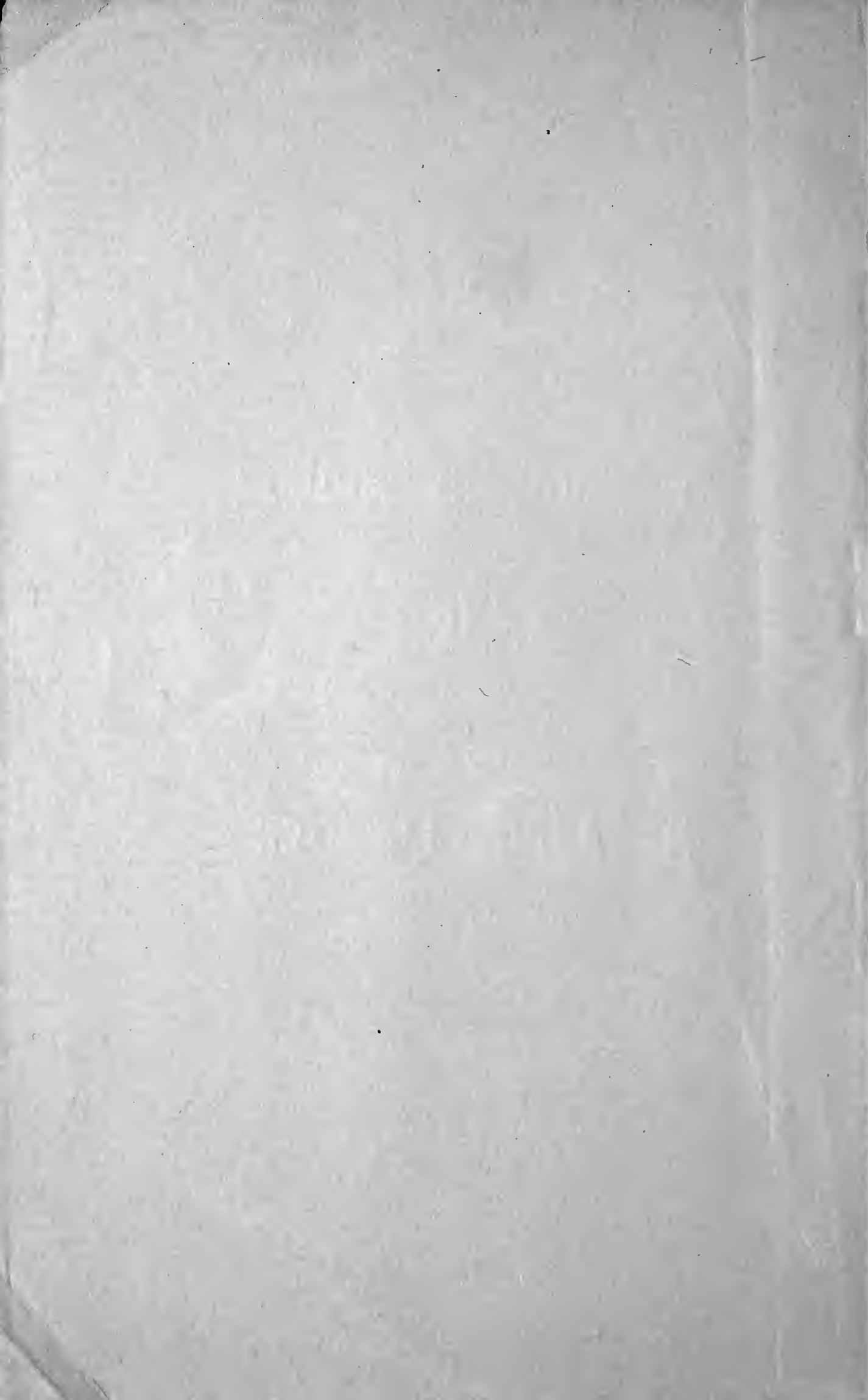
Brookfield.

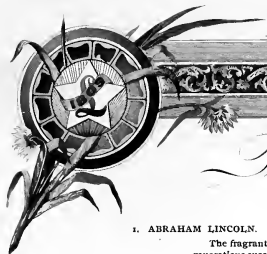
Cephas Brainerd.

Joseph Pool.

Cartlett.

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LINCOLN'S

Toasts

1. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The fragrant memory of such a life will increase as the generations succeed each other.

"My purpose is to be in my action just and constitutional, and yet practical, in performing the important duty with which I am charged, of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country."—*Lincoln to Governor of New York, August 7th, 1863.*

2. THE SUFFRAGE.

The life-blood of a free people. Its suppression is a crime against liberty.

"Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us to the end, dare to do our duty, as we understand it."—*Abraham Lincoln.*

3. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

It guided the nation throughout the Rebellion—it solved the problem of reconstruction and resumption—and now, in obedience to the will of the people, it will under the Constitution, secure the legitimate fruits of the Civil War.

"It is on such an occasion as this that we can reason together, reaffirm our devotion to the country, and the principles of the Declaration of Independence."—*Abraham Lincoln.*

4. THE NEW SOUTH.

Let her be just and fear not. Let her forget the things which are behind and reach forth unto the things which are before.

5. THE ARMY AND NAVY.

Our gallant defenders in the Rebellion; their present condition merits the solicitude of the patriot.

6. AMERICAN INDUSTRIES.

May they always receive that measure of protection that an enlightened patriotism dictates.

Third Annual Dinner of the Republican Club OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

at Delmonico's, February 12th 1889.



BIRTHDAY

FEB. 12. '89

William Brookfield.

A. C. Cheney. Cephas Brainerd.
James L. Lehmann. Joseph Pool.
Edward T. Bartlett.

John H. Starr.
 Elliott F. Shepard.
 John D. Lawson.



N. Y. Graphic.
 W. M. K. Olcott.
 Chas. Schwacofer.
 John Elderkin.
 F. M. Littlefield.
 James R. Smith.
 John W. Jacobus.
 Andrew B. Rogers, Jr.
 R. B. Highet.
 E. A. McAlpin
 C. E. Rice.
 J. T. Ferguson.
 Thomas J. Byrne.
 D. O. Wickham.
 G. E. Wadleigh.
 J. E. Wooster.
 Byron W. Greene.
 James F. Lewis.
 A. C. Rand.
 J. R. Rand.
 Thomas H. Fergus.
 R. A. Kathan.
 Chas. W. Prankard.

N. Y. Mail & Express.
 Chas. H. Denison.
 Joseph Ullman.
 W. B. Tufts.
 Noah C. Rogers.
 Chas. P. Rogers.
 Geo. P. Hopkins.
 Nathaniel T. Jones.
 T. Kensett Wheeler.
 James R. Doudge.
 Bruce Hayden.
 Wm. F. Shaffer.
 C. H. C. Beakes.
 Walter S. Baldwin.
 C. E. Bruce.
 Harrison L. Downs.
 Samuel Druiff.
 Ora Howard.
 E. A. Perkins.
 J. Huber.
 F. W. Cheney.
 Charles H. Patrick.
 J. M. Bundy.

Charles F. Homer.

Com. Advertiser.
Evening Post.
Staats Zeitung.
 J. H. Baxter.
 Charles E. Coon.
 E. W. Harris.
 C. M. Darling.
 C. C. Langill.
 Henry Seidenberg.
 M. L. Schreck.
 Geo. Cole.
 Rev. H. D. Grosse.
 A. P. Mead.
 E. Mead, Jr.
 Robert Glover.
 C. E. Hubbell.
 O. W. Buckingham.
 Eben Sutton.

Charles N. Taintor.

C. C. Shayne.
Journal.
 Duncan H. Currie.
 Wm. Felsing.
 J. E. Milholland.
 Edw. H. Ammidown.
 J. Traust.
 J. McKinley.
 Elmer E. Post.
 C. F. Anderson.
 C. W. Meade.
 Homer Lee.
 W. H. Ballou.
 M. R. Crow.
 Uriah W. Tompkins.
 D. D. Earle.
 Wm. Ferguson.
 Geo. H. Lounsbury.
 Samuel Colcord.

PROCEEDINGS AT

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OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

HELD AT DELMONICO'S ON

THE EIGHTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTHDAY OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

FEBRUARY 12, 1889



1889.

MERCANTILE PRINTING & STATIONERY CO.

709 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

Joel H. Ehardt,
 John C. New,
 Rev. Arthur Brooks,
 Chauncey M. Degan,
 Whitcaw Reid,
 Thomas C. Platt,
 John M. Thurston,
 Horace Porter,
 Levi P. Morton,
 Mortimer C. Alderman,
 President,
 Benjamin Butterworth,
 C. A. Borelle,
 Henry L. Burnett,
 Robert G. Ingersoll,
 Cornelius N. Bliss,
 John N. Knapp,
 Charles A. Moore,
 John H. Starin,
 Elliott F. Shepard,
 John D. Lawson.

GUESTS AND PRESIDENT.

C. C. Shayne.																					
<i>N. Y. Herald.</i>		<i>N. Y. Times.</i>		<i>N. Y. Press.</i>		<i>N. Y. World.</i>		<i>N. Y. Tribune.</i>		<i>N. Y. Sun.</i>		<i>Associated Press.</i>		<i>N. Y. Star.</i>		<i>N. Y. Graphic.</i>		<i>N. Y. Mail & Express.</i>		<i>Journal.</i>	
A. B. Humphrey.	24	H. W. Albro.	24	Augustus Kountze.	24	James W. Hawes.	24	William J. Easton.	24	Arthur L. Merriam.	24	John H. Wood.	24	L. B. Dwyer.	24	W. M. K. Olcott.	24	Chas. H. Denison.	24	Com. Advertiser.	24
S. L. Woodhouse.	25	Wm. C. Doscher.	25	Seth M. Milliken.	25	T. C. Loveland.	25	J. Edgar Leaycraft.	25	Chauncey B. Fowler.	25	George E. Weed.	25	M. T. Davidson.	25	Chas. Schwacofer.	25	Joseph Ullman.	25	Evening Post.	25
C. F. Tietjen.	26	Irving D. Fairchild.	26	W. F. Milliken.	26	L. C. Ashley.	26	James G. Cannon.	26	Edward S. Fowler.	26	S. W. Roach.	26	P. R. Whitcomb.	26	John Elderkin.	26	W. B. Tufts.	26	Stants Zeitung.	26
Charles A. Kimball.	27	W. P. Montague.	27	James W. Perry.	27	W. B. Roe.	27	D. O. Wyckoff.	27	G. S. Palmer.	27	Wm. Rovland.	27	Ellis H. Masters.	27	F. M. Littlefield.	27	Noah C. Rogers.	27	J. H. Baxter.	27
David C. Link.	28	E. R. Lyon.	28	Thomas K. Harris.	28	M. Rock.	28	Clarence W. Seamens.	28	J. L. Wandling.	28	J. E. Reynolds.	28	A. W. Cockerton.	28	James R. Smith.	28	Chas. P. Rogers.	28	Charles E. Coon.	28
Leonard S. Howard.	29	Alex. Caldwell.	29	Geo. H. Treadwell.	29	S. Goodman.	29	Jesse H. Lippincott.	29	E. W. Bloomingdale.	29	D. W. Mabree.	29	J. J. Flynn.	29	John W. Jacobus.	29	Geo. P. Hopkins.	29	Edw. H. Ammidown.	29
Joseph Curbit.	30	J. L. Taintor.	30	Benj. F. Carpenter.	30	Cephas Brainerd, Jr.	30	J. Adriance Bush.	30	Henry L. Einstein.	30	C. W. Ballard.	30	Elmer S. Smith.	30	Andrew B. Rogers, Jr.	30	Nathaniel T. Jones.	30	E. W. Harris.	30
A. H. Fischer.	31	David Mitchell.	31	Alex. Carmichael.	31	C. W. Colton.	31	H. Leeds, Jr.	31	Daniel Butterfield.	31	D. S. Walton.	31	E. O. Babcock.	31	R. B. Hight.	31	T. Kensett Wheeler.	31	C. M. Darling.	31
H. M. Wynkoop.	32	William H. Bellamy.	32	Edw. S. Atwater.	32	E. T. Sawyer.	32	Thomas R. Lombard.	32	E. Wright Nelson.	32	J. B. Kelley.	32	Walter B. Timmes.	32	E. A. McAlpin.	32	James R. Doudge.	32	C. C. Langill.	32
R. E. Williams.	33	Mahlon Chance.	33	Hal Bell.	33	Jacob Halstead.	33	S. A. Briggs.	33	E. F. Shepard.	33	M. R. Swift.	33	H. W. Hayden.	33	C. E. Rice.	33	Bruce Hayden.	33	Henry Seidenberg.	33
Edmund Wetmore.	34	Alfred B. Price.	34	A. J. Cammeyer.	34	Adolph Scholle.	34	Joseph B. Dickson.	34	William M. Este.	34	F. H. Ballard.	34	J. H. Emery.	34	J. T. Ferguson.	34	Wm. F. Shaffer.	34	M. L. Schreck.	34
Wm. A. Jenner.	35	James A. Whitney.	35	Frank R. Crumhie.	35	Ira B. Wheeler.	35	H. R. De Milt.	35	Smith Lente.	35	A. O. Beebe.	35	Frank H. Andrews.	35	Thomas J. Byrne.	35	C. H. C. Beakes.	35	Geo. Cole.	35
William M. Keonard.	36	Edward L. Angell.	36	Charles E. Hughes.	36	Edward D. Candee.	36	N. C. Chapman.	36	John H. Gunner.	36	Henry Hall.	36	W. L. Garey.	36	D. O. Wickham.	36	Walter S. Baldwin.	36	Rev. H. D. Grosse.	36
Fred. C. Royce.	37	Philip Carpenter.	37	Austin Brainerd.	37	C. C. Hodgman.	37	Orson Adams.	37	Henry C. Parley.	37	James A. Smith.	37	C. W. Bonfils.	37	G. E. Wadleigh.	37	C. E. Bruce.	37	A. P. Mead.	37
C. M. Benedict.	38	H. C. Ballard.	38	Ira H. Brainerd.	38	F. E. De Frate.	38	N. L. Cort.	38	B. W. Downs.	38	Monroe B. Bryant.	38	S. D. Bonfils.	38	J. E. Wooster.	38	Harrison L. Downs.	38	E. Mead, Jr.	38
Theodore Wentz.	39	A. B. Knapp.	39	J. B. Bloomingdale.	39	Pierre J. Smith.	39	E. F. Coe.	39	S. B. Elkins.	39	W. A. Bryant.	39	Job E. Hedges.	39	Byron W. Greene.	39	Samuel Druff.	39	Robert Glover.	39
Donald McLean.	40	G. C. Batcheller.	40	L. G. Bloomingdale.	40	Adolph Scholle.	40	Arthur L. Lesher.	40	John A. Steicher.	40	J. A. Greene.	40	Clarence W. Meade.	40	James F. Lewis.	40	Ora Howard.	40	C. E. Hubbell.	40
John Davidson.	41	James Davidson.	41	M. M. Badlong.	41	Leslie W. Russell.	41	William M. Isaacs.	41	Henry L. Stoddard.	41	J. Proctor Clarke.	41	D. M. Hildreth, Jr.	41	A. C. Rand.	41	E. A. Perkins.	41	O. W. Buckingham.	41
J. A. Hayden.	42	H. S. Strauss.	42	L. L. Van Allen.	42	John T. Lockman.	42	Howard Carroll.	42	Granville P. Hawes.	42	John A. Cockrell.	42	Henry A. Barnum.	42	J. R. Rand.	42	J. Huber.	42	Eben Sutton.	42
Alex. P. Ketchum.	43	Wm. Strauss.	43	William Scott.	43	Julien T. Davies.	43	John W. Vrooman.	43	Samuel Thomas.	43	Charles A. Hess.	43	William Leary.	43	Thomas H. Fergus.	43	F. W. Cheney.	43	Charles N. Taintor.	43
Charles K. Lexow.	44	N. Littauer.	44	Charles L. Perry.	44	J. D. Campbell.	44	James S. Lehman.	44	Edward T. Bartlett.	44	John G. Ingalls.	44	Jacob Hess.	44	R. A. Kathan.	44	Charles H. Patrick.	44		44
Solon B. Smith.	45	Edward C. James.	45	John S. Smith.	45	T. F. Wentworth.	45	A. C. Cheney.	45	Joseph Pool.	45	William L. Findley.	45	Jas. A. Blanchard.	45	Chas. W. Prankard.	45	J. M. Bundy.	45		45
Fred. G. Godev.						Cephas Brainerd.				William Brookfield.			Edward Mitchell.				Charles F. Homer.				

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709 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

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LIST OF GUESTS.

Honorable LEVI P. MORTON.

Honorable C. A. BOUTELLE.

Honorable BENJAMIN BUTTERWORTH.

Honorable THOMAS C. PLATT.

Honorable JOHN C. NEW.

Honorable JOHN D. LAWSON.

Honorable JOHN H. STARIN.

Honorable JOEL B. ERHARDT.

General HORACE PORTER.

General HENRY L. BURNETT.

General JOHN N. KNAPP.

Rev. ROBERT S. MACARTHUR, D.D.

Rev. ARTHUR BROOKS.

CORNELIUS N. BLISS, Esquire.

EDWARD H. AMMIDOWN, Esquire.

ROBERT B. PORTER, Esquire.

JONAS M. BUNDY, Esquire.

SYLVESTER T. EVERETT, Esquire.

JOHN A. SLEICHER, Esquire.

HOWARD CARROLL, Esquire.

CHARLES A. MOORE, Esquire.

HENRY L. STODDARD, Esquire.

* Menu. *

HUÎTRES.

POTAGES.

Consommé mécène. Bisque de crevettes.

HORS D'ŒUVRES.

Timbales à la reine.

POISSON.

Saumon de l'Oregon, sauce ravigôte.
Pommes de terre persillade.

RELEVÉ.

Filet de bœuf, au madère. Tomates au gratin.

ENTRÉES.

Dinde Viennoise à la chevreuse. Petits pois au beurre.
Ris de veau à l'anglaise. Haricots vert sautés.

SORBET À LA REGÉNCÉ.

ROTS.

Canards à tête rouge.

FROID.

Terrine de foies gras à la geleé. Salade de laitue.

ENTREMETS DE DOUCEUR.

Pouding à la fleury. Piecés montées.
Glaces Napolitaine. Geleé ceuterba.
Brisselets à la crème.
Fruits. Petits Fours. Café.

THE REPUBLICAN CLUB
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

Mardi le 12 Fevrier, 1889.
DELMONICO'S.



REPUBLICAN CLUB.

The members of the club, with their guests, being assembled in the dining room at Delmonico's, the President, of the club, MORTIMER C. ADDOMS, ESQ., introduced the Reverend ARTHUR BROOKS, of New York City, who said grace :

O God, we thank Thee, as for all these blessings, so especially to-night for Thy faithful servants in the past. Grant to us grace, we beseech Thee, to use faithfully and earnestly all Thy gifts; and in our day and generation to glorify Thy name, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.—Amen.

MR. ADDOMS, after the dinner, spoke as follows :

Gentlemen: I regret very much to disturb your hilarity, but the time has now arrived when we must give attention to the intellectual part of the feast which our Dinner Committee has provided, and you are invited to listen to the addresses of the eloquent and distinguished gentlemen who have honored us on this occasion.

As the President of this club, and in behalf of all its members, I extend to our guests and friends a cordial greeting and hearty welcome.

We have assembled again upon the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln (great applause), to pay this tribute of respect to his memory, and to congratulate ourselves upon the

great and far-reaching victory which the Republican party won in November last. (Great applause, and three cheers.) The clouds of darkness, doubt, and despondency, and their progenitor, Democracy, which have enveloped this fair republic for the past four years will soon pass away, and the brightness of hope, the faith in the future prosperity, greatness and grandeur of the country, and the re-assertion, re-enactment, and re-enforcement of Republican principles and doctrines will impel men and inspire them with courage and vigor to enter upon new undertakings, genuine reforms and profitable adventures.

As the country emerged out of the Rebellion and entered upon a new career of prosperity, so now, after four years of Democratic misrule, supineness, and shilly-shallying, it will, with a Republican President, sustained by a Republican Congress, and supported by a united people, make vast and gigantic strides as it advances in its wonderful march of progress. Statesmen of distinguished ability and intellectual breadth of mind and thought like those who guided the Nation through the throes of a great Rebellion, who put into the Constitution the Reconstruction measures and the various enactments which were the outcome of the War, who gave us a stable currency and a sound financial system, and in the payment of the National debt maintained the honor and credit of the Nation, will again assume the helm. (Great applause.)

Gentlemen, let us congratulate ourselves upon the election of Benjamin Harrison—(great applause and cries of “He’s all right”)—as President, and Levi P. Morton—(great applause)—an honored member of this Club, as Vice-President of the United States, and the reinstatement of the Republican party in the control of the Government, with all its glorious traditions and brilliant history. (Cries of “good, good.”)

The so-called Man of Destiny—(laughter)—met his Waterloo on the 6th of last November, and will soon be relegated to that obscurity from which a misguided and mistaken people ought never to have disturbed him.

The winning of this victory, and the restoration of the Republican party to power, means that the principle of Protection to American Industry and American Labor upon which the party fought the contest in the last campaign shall be established in a system of political economy and a financial policy to be inaugurated and carried through by the incoming Administration and Congress. It means a strong foreign policy. (Cries of

“good, good,” and “Blaine, Blaine, Blaine,” with great applause, and waving of handkerchiefs.) It means a strong foreign policy which will cause the flag to be respected—(a voice “In Samoa.”)—wherever it floats, upon land or sea, not only in poor, weak Hayti, but in Samoa, and which will cause the rights of the humblest citizen to be secured in every part of the habitable globe. It means that National taxation will be reduced upon a just and proper basis, and that the accumulation of the surplus shall be so regulated by a modification and adjustment of the tariff laws, and the partial abolishment of the internal revenue system, as not to interfere with the business interests of the country. (Applause.)

It means that the two Dakotas, Washington, Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming should join the sisterhood of States and adorn the galaxy of stars which constitute the diadem of the Republic. (Applause.)

It means the disintegration of the Solid South—and that Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, and Tennessee shall be dominated by Republican ideas, and become Republican States. It means that the right of suffrage shall be maintained throughout the entire land, and that the ballot of the citizen shall be counted just as it is cast. (Cries of “good, good.”) It means the enactment of a system of ballot reform throughout the several States, in order that there may be a fair and honest expression of the suffrages of the voters, and that the bribe-giver shall not corrupt the ballot of the elector.

It means that the laws of trade and commerce between the States shall be so adjusted and regulated as to protect the interests of the producer, the carrier, and the consumer, and that the rights of capital and labor shall be reciprocally maintained, so that there may come that prosperity which awards to capital its just compensation and accords to great bodies of men regular employment at generous wages. (Applause.)

During the last campaign, this Club continued in the line of the purposes and objects of its formation. It was first, last, and all the time Republican and thoroughly American in sentiment. In that great contest and struggle for Republican supremacy, it bore no insignificant or inconsiderable part. The system of Club Organization which it inaugurated proved most effective in organizing the great body of Republicans, and in acting as a valuable auxiliary to the regular Organizations while not infringing

their prerogatives. Through its Committee on Club Organization, it established a large number of clubs in this city and sustained them by generous contributions obtained from its members. Throughout the entire campaign, it was active and aggressive, and its members contributed generously of their time, their talents, and their money.

Upon the platform they discussed the vital issues of the canvass, and created a sentiment and aroused an enthusiasm in behalf of the Republican cause. The Club has now established itself in a commodious and elegant home, with all the surroundings and equipments conducive to comfort, rest, and recreation. While it has not in any respect yielded anything in its labors for the establishment of Republican principles and ideas, and while it has not surrendered its proud title as the foremost Republican organization in the country (great applause), it strengthens its Republicanism by its teachings and discussions in its club house, and it offers to the weary and tired "spell-binders" and bread winners a refuge from the strain of an overworked brain and a pleasant and enjoyable companionship among its members.

With its five hundred earnest and active Republicans it will devote its energies to the overthrow of Democracy in this State and city, and it will continue its fight against Democratic bosses, corruptions, and frauds.

Our first Annual Dinner was made memorable by the presence of that eminent citizen who has been summoned to the highest office in the gift of the American people. (Great applause.) His personal character and broad, statesmanlike manliness recommended themselves to us on that occasion, and in General Harrison we found a fit and worthy successor to Lincoln, to Grant, to Garfield, and to Arthur. And we made him our President. And permit me to suggest that as his presence with us at that time was the impelling cause and the inspiration which elevated him to the Presidency, so may we find among the distinguished gentlemen who now grace this festive board other "Richmonds" who will in time fill his place and continue the line of Republican Presidents. (Great applause, and cries of "What's the matter with Platt?"—"He's all right.")

Gentlemen, in what more fitting manner may we do homage to the memory of Abraham Lincoln than to celebrate in this public manner, and in this distinguished presence, his life and character? The inauguration by this Club of the commemora-

tion of the natal day of our martyred leader was due to a sentiment that, as the years roll by and we are further separated from the great events of those trying times, the figure of Lincoln stands out as entirely unique and pre-eminently fitted for that occasion, and therefore worthy of veneration. Heroes, warriors, and statesmen have in all ages been thus honored, and it seemed becoming to us that in this way his memory should be kept green, and that the recognition and appreciation of his greatness by his countrymen should find appropriate expression in this, our Annual Public Dinner. Here again, to-night, we encircle his brow with this laurel chaplet. (Great applause.)

MR. ADDOMS: The letters of regret from the gentlemen who are with us in spirit but are unable to be here in person will now be read by the Secretary of the Dinner Committee, Mr. Joseph Pool. (Three cheers were given for Mr. Pool.)

(The letters will be found in the appendix.)

The Glee Club then sang "The Bugle Call at Gettysburg."

The PRESIDENT then said:

The first regular toast of the evening, "Abraham Lincoln." The fragrant memory of such a life will increase as the generations succeed each other.

"My purpose is to be in my action just and constitutional, and yet practical, in performing the important duty with which I am charged, of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country."

The sentiment of this toast strikes a responsive chord in the breast of every true American, and the name of Lincoln will shine with ever increasing lustre as the ages roll on. Our Committee has summoned to respond a gentleman who is well known to New York audiences and as highly appreciated as he is well known. His reputation as a brilliant, witty, eloquent, and graceful post-prandial orator has been worthily acquired. His long acquaintance with Abraham Lincoln; his intimate relationship, both official and personal, with our illustrious chieftain, General Grant (great applause), and his distinguished career as a brave defender of his country in the time of her peril, have eminently fitted him to tell the story of our great war President.

Gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to present to you General Horace Porter, of this city.



ADDRESS OF GENERAL PORTER.

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I am oppressed with divers misgivings in being called upon to rise and cast the first fire-brand into this peaceful assemblage (laughter), which has evidently been enjoying itself so much—up to the present moment. From the herculean task accomplished by the Republican party last fall, we have learned to look upon its members as men of deeds and not of words—except the Spell-binders (laughter), and when I am called upon to initiate these proceedings by words, I am reminded of the days when Pythagoras of Athens, inaugurated his school of silence, and Phryne made the opening speech. (Laughter.)

I fear your committee is treating me to-night like one of those toy balloons that are sent up previous to the main ascension to test the currents of the air, but I hope that in this sort of ballooning I may not be subjected to the remark that interrupted the Fourth of July orator in the West while he was tickling the American Eagle under both wings (laughter), delivering himself of no end of platitudes, and soaring aloft into the brilliant realms of fancy, when a man in the audience quietly remarked: “If he goes on throwin’ out his ballast in that way, the Lord only knows where he’ll land.” (Laughter.)

Perhaps I can assist in demonstrating to night that dryness is a pronounced quality of the champagne, of the diners, and of these opening remarks. I have partaken in a very conservative manner, however, of that beverage, in consequence of the remark that Mr. Lincoln once made about it when he arrived at City Point, after having been shaken up the night before aboard his boat in a storm on Chesapeake Bay, and complained that his stomach was still suffering from certain gastronomic uncertainties. A young staff officer, who was generally too previous on

momentous occasions, now saw before him the one great opportunity of his life, and rushed up to Mr. Lincoln with a bottle of champagne and said: "This is the cure for that sort of an ill, Mr. President." Said the President: "No, young man, I have seen too many fellows sea-sick ashore from drinking that very article." (Laughter.)

When the Italian fisherman puts out to sea, he is accustomed to offer up a prayer for strength because the sea is so vast and his bark is so small, and I feel like entering a plea for strength to-night, because the subject which you have assigned to me is so vast and my ideas are so few. The story of the life of Abraham Lincoln savors more of romance than reality; is more like a fabled tale of ancient days than the story of an American citizen of the nineteenth century. As light and shade produce the most attractive effects in a picture, so the strange contrasts, the singular vicissitudes in the life of our martyred President surround him with an interest which attaches to few men in history. Of humble origin, he early had to struggle with the trials of misfortune and to learn the first lessons of life in the severe school of adversity. He sprang from that class which he always alluded to as the "plain people." He always possessed an abiding confidence in them; he always retained his deep hold upon their affections; even when he was clothed with the robes of a master, he forgot not that he was still the servant of the people. He believed that the government was made for the people, not the people for the government. He felt that true Republicanism is a torch—the more it is shaken in the hands of the people, the brighter it will burn. (Applause.)

He was transcendently fit to be the first great successful standard bearer of the progressive, aggressive, invincible Republican party. (Great applause.)

If, in the days of his power, men had sneered at him on account of his humble origin, he might well have said to them what a Marshal of France, raised from the ranks to a dukedom, said to the haughty nobles of Vienna, who boasted of their long line of descent, when they refused to associate with him: "I am an ancestor; you are only descendants." (Laughter and cheers.)

Abraham Lincoln possessed in a marked degree that most uncommon of all virtues, common sense. With him there was no practicing of the arts of the demagogue; no posing for

effect; no attitudinizing in public; no mawkish sentimentality; no indulgence in mock heroics; none of that puppyism so often bred by power; none of that dogmatism which Johnson said was only puppyism grown to maturity. (Laughter.) He sought not to ride in a chariot of power, the golden dust from whose wheels might dazzle and blind his followers. He preferred to trudge along on foot, so that the people might keep abreast with him. While his mind was one great storehouse of facts and useful information, he made no pretense to knowledge he did not possess. He felt like Addison, that "pedantry in learning is like hypocrisy in religion—a form of knowledge without the power of it." He had nothing in common with those men of mental malformation who are educated beyond their intellects. (Laughter.)

The names of two Presidents will always be inseparately associated in the minds of Americans—Washington and Lincoln. (Great Applause.) And yet, from the manner in which the modern historian loves to dwell at length upon trivial incidents, we would suppose that one had spent his entire life in cutting down trees, and the other in splitting them up into rails. These men differed in some respects. Washington could not tell a story; Lincoln always could. (Laughter.)

Lincoln's stories possessed the true geometrical requisites of excellence. They were never too long and never too broad. (Laughter.) He never forgot a point. A sentinel who was pacing near a camp fire while Lincoln was visiting the field, listening to the stories he told, made the philosophical remark that that man had a mighty powerful memory but an awful poor forgettery. (Laughter.) He did not tell a story for the sake of the anecdote, but to point a moral, to clinch a fact. I do not know a more apt illustration than that which fell from his lips the last time I ever heard him converse. We were discussing the subject of England's assistance to the South, and how, after the collapse of the Confederacy, England would find she had aided it but little, and only injured herself. He said, "That reminds me of a barber in Sangamon County. He had just gone to bed, when a stranger came along and said he must be shaved; that he had a four days' beard on his face and was going to a ball, and that beard must come off. Well, the barber reluctantly got up and dressed, and seated the man in a chair with a back so low that every time he bore down on him he came near dislocating

his victim's neck. He began by lathering his face, including his nose, eyes, and ears, stropped his razor on his boot, and then made a drive at the man's countenance as if he had practiced mowing in a stubble field. He made a bold swarth across the right cheek, carrying away the beard, a pimple, and two warts. (Laughter.) The man in the chair ventured the remark, 'You appear to make everything level as you go.' (Great laughter.) Said the barber, 'Yes, and if this handle don't break, I guess I'll get away with what there is there.' (Laughter.) The man's cheeks were so hollow that the barber could not get down into the valleys with the razor, and the ingenious idea occurred to him to stick his finger in the man's mouth and press out the cheeks. (Laughter.) Finally he cut clear through the cheek and into his own finger. He pulled the finger out of the man's mouth, snapped the blood off it, glared at him and said, 'There, you lanterned jawed cuss, you've made me cut my finger.'" (Roars of laughter.)

"Now," said Mr. Lincoln, "England will find that she has got the South into a pretty bad scrape by trying to administer to her, and in the end she will find she has only cut her own finger." (Applause.)

But his heart was not always attuned to mirth; its chords were often set to strains of sadness. The slaughter in the field; the depletion of the Treasury; the work of traitors in rear as well as in front; the foreign complications which arose were sometimes so overwhelming that his great soul seemed to melt. Men slandered and reviled him; they could not understand him. His wit was too keen; his logic too subtle; his statesmanship too advanced. It passed their understanding. He realized that "reproach is a concomitant to greatness as satire and invective were an essential part of a Roman triumph." He learned that in public life all hours wound—the last one kills. But throughout these periods of gloom he never lost the courage of his convictions; he never took counsel of his fears. When hope was fading, when courage was failing, when he was surrounded on all sides by doubting Thomases, by unbelieving Saracens, by discontented Catilines, as the Danes destroyed the hearing of their war horses in order that they might not be affrighted by the din of battle, so Abraham Lincoln turned a deaf ear to all doubts and despondency, and exhibited an unwavering and unbounded faith in the justice of the cause and the integrity of the

Union. (Loud applause.) His was a faith which saw a bow of promise in every storm cloud ; which saw in the discords of the present the harmonies of the future ; a faith that can be likened only unto the faith of the Christian in his God. (Applause.)

Men learn little in this world from precept ; they learn much from example. "The best teachers of humanity are the lives of great men." It is said that for 300 years after the battle of Thermopylæ, every child in the public schools of Greece was required to recite from memory each day the names of the three hundred immortal martyrs that fell in the defense of that Pass. It would be a crowning triumph in patriotic education, if every school child in America could be taught each day to contemplate the grand character and utter the inspiring name of Abraham Lincoln. (Great applause.) Singular man ! No one can lessen the measure of his fame ; no one can pluck a single laurel from his brow. Marvelous man ! In all the annals of history, we fail to find another whose life was so peaceful, whose nature was so gentle, and yet who was called upon to marshall the armed hosts of an aroused people ; to direct and control the uprising of an entire nation, and for four long years to conduct a fierce, a bloody, a relentless fratricidal war. In the annals of all history, we fail to find another whose training was of the cabinet, not the camp, yet who died a more heroic death.

Seldom has it fallen to the lot of man to strike the shackles from the limbs of bondmen, and proclaim liberty to a race by a single stroke of the pen. Seldom has it fallen to the lot of man to die the death of an honored martyr with his robes of office still about him, with his laurels fresh upon his brow, at the moment of the restoration of his country to peace within her borders and to peace with all the world. (Great applause.)

We buried him, not in a Roman Pantheon ; not in a domed St. Pauls ; not in an historic Westminster. We gave him still nobler sepulture. We laid him to rest in the bosom of the soil his efforts had saved. That tomb shall henceforth be the true Mecca of all true sons of the Republic ; future ages will pause to read the inscription on its portals, and the prayers and the praises of a redeemed and regenerated people will rise from that grave as incense rises from holy places, pointing out even to the angels in heaven where rest the ashes of him who had filled to the very full the largest measure of human greatness. (Great applause.)

He has passed from our view. We shall not meet him again till he stands forth to answer to his name at roll-call, when the great of earth are summoned on the morning of the last great reveille. [Apostrophizing a portrait of Lincoln, which hung upon the wall above the speaker's platform.] Till then, farewell, gentlest of all spirits, noblest of all hearts! A child's simplicity was mingled with the majestic grandeur of your nature. You have handed down unto a grateful people the richest legacy which man can leave to man—the memory of a good name, the inheritance of a great example.

(Loud and enthusiastic applause and cheers.)

The PRESIDENT said, I will read the second toast: "American Industries." May they always receive that measure of protection that an enlightened patriotism dictates. (Cries of "good, good.")

We have invited to respond to this toast a statesman who has won his laurels in the Halls of Congress as a champion of Republican principles and a recognized leader of the Republican party. Ready in debate, and accomplished in the art of oratory, he has proven himself a valiant and fearless advocate of the system of Protection to American industries, and his antagonists have found him a foeman worthy of their steel. He will to-night re-echo the battle cry of the last campaign. It gives me a great deal of pleasure to introduce to you the Honorable Benjamin Butterworth, Member of Congress from Ohio. (Great applause, and three cheers for Mr. Butterworth.)





ADDRESS OF MR. BUTTERWORTH.

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Republican Club of the City of New York :

Mr. Chairman : I thank you for the pleasant things you have said in presenting me to the members of this Club. I fear, however, that your introductory remarks, which are offered as an index to my speech, promise more than will be realized.

Gentlemen of the Club :

Will you pardon me, if for one moment I say something which is in a measure apart from the sentiment proposed by your honored Chairman? I will not abuse the indulgence.

I am exceedingly glad to see here to-night so large a number of young men. To them I desire to address myself for a single moment.

For thirty years I have taken part in every campaign in which the Republican party has battled for supremacy in Ohio, and in this nation. I have not been an indifferent or careless observer of public events; nor have I neglected to study the origin and character of influences which go to build up or to destroy the republic. It is in a realization of the work that waits upon you that I am gratified to see here to-night so many young Republicans. I submit to this brilliant assemblage, that if there ever was a time in the history of the country when the young men were called upon to gird on the armor for political battle, that time is now.

First, I desire to impress upon these young gentlemen that politics is not a game; the man who indulges in it merely as if it were a game—don't trust him. Politics has to do with government, and government has to do with the well-being of the people governed. The times are big with change; there are questions economic and others which challenge the earnest at-

tention of the worthy, patriotic young men of this republic ; upon your shoulders grave responsibilities and corresponding duties rest. If from all the homes of my country the earnest, cultured, brilliant young men shall go forth to the coming political battles, the virtues and not the vices will hold the balance of power in this republic. (Cries of " Good, good. ")

You have just listened to the brilliant tribute our friend General Porter has paid to the memory of Abraham Lincoln. What was it that made him stand conspicuously prominent among his fellows ? It was the fact that he kept step with the people, and touched elbows with humanity. (Applause.) He realized in the fullest measure that this was indeed a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. (Applause.) That the people are indeed the source of our nation's strength, that the homes of our country are the sources of governmental power, and that our institutions are what the occupants of those homes make them. He realized the loss our country sustained in the slaughter of the true-hearted, brave young men, who left the firesides of the land, prompted by a high and holy sense of patriotic duty, to do battle for the republic. We keenly feel the loss of those young men to-day. Their loss has doubled the work that devolves upon you, young gentlemen ; if you neglect it, it will be ill with the republic.

Having said this much to these young Republicans who are just girding on the political armor, I return to discuss for a few moments the sentiment read by your Chairman, and to which I am invited to pay my respects.

It relates to American industries. The subject is not absolutely new ; I recall that during the last session of Congress, and during the Presidential campaign just closed, it was on occasions incidentally referred to. I remember that the careful listener at times heard speakers mention the word " tariff. " Most economic questions are old, and, paradoxical as it may seem, they are at the same time new ; since the creation of new industries and new instrumentalities for carrying them on, enlarged trade relations, etc., present new phases of the old questions. Devotion to American industries means devotion to the homes of America in preference to the homes of other lands, and by that devotion we have obtained and hold the coign of vantage in the industrial world. (Applause.) The American system of protection says to the world that, as be-

tween the homes of the United States and the homes of other lands, we are for those of our own land. (Cries of "Good, good.")

We have been ridiculed somewhat, my honored friends, because we have at times, during the recent debates, spoken of our *infant industries*. The criticism, Mr. Chairman, is just. We have in fact no infant industries in this republic. I accept the criticism, although an ultra-Protectionist, as being thoroughly just. If our industries are indeed infants, we would be compelled, in order to appear consistent, to file their teeth back and take their tobacco from them. (Laughter.) I insist, my friends, that in the presence of equal conditions my countrymen can more than hold their own against the world outside. I insist that in the presence of equal conditions American capital, American plants, and American workmen will, in the field of productive effort, outstrip all competition and undersell all other nations in the markets of the world. (Cries of "Good, good.") Our fathers were quite right when they talked of *infant* industries in the presence of conditions which found our ancestors without plants, without capital, and without skilled workmen. It was easy to see that our industries were then indeed infants, and required careful nursing to attain to manhood; but that time has long since gone by, and to-day we do not claim to lack those potent factors in the problem of our industrial development. We are of age. Under the careful nursing which we approve, and which our Democratic friends condemn, we have achieved an industrial development unequaled by any nation on the earth. Our quarrel with our political adversaries relates to a system, and not to matter of detail.

What is the proper office of the Protective Tariff, the aid of which we invoke? Its name suggests its office: it is to protect; not to protect infants, but to protect full grown industries against a character of competition which is alike unjust and inhuman. Our free trade friends are accustomed to say that the protective system abridges every man's natural right to buy where he can buy cheapest and sell where he can realize the largest profit. It is a favorite hobby with the Yale and Harvard economic philosophers that there should be no restriction placed upon trade, and that it is every man's right to buy where he can buy cheapest and sell where he can get the greatest price, and that the restrictions which are imposed by the Protective Tariff are in their nature and operation little else

than a system of robbery and a species of reciprocal brigandage. The great concern of our free trade philosophers is to protect the people from the oppressive influences of a protective tariff. I say to them that if the protective system is not bottomed in sound philosophy and the broadest principles of humanity, then I have no sympathy with it. But it is both—it is philosophic and humane. That a citizen should have the right to buy where he can buy cheapest, is true as an abstract proposition; it is a natural right; but since we are entering the domain of ethics, I want to inquire touching the nature of this system which our friends call robbery and reciprocal brigandage, and since they appeal in behalf of humanity, I desire to do the same, in order that we may reach a right conclusion as to where the true friends of humanity will be found, whether in the ranks of the protectionists, or in the army of our free trade friends. Mr. Chairman, how is it that the Belgian, and the Englishman, and the Italian, and the Austrian, can undersell us in our own market? This is a pertinent question. Our free trade friends desire to buy of the foreigner because they can buy his goods at a less price than they can buy of an American manufacturer. But I want to ask, how does it occur that the foreign manufacturer, the Belgian, for instance, or the Italian, or Frenchman, can sell his wares, his merchandise, in the streets of New York cheaper than the American manufacturer can produce them? I have already called your attention to the fact that we do not lack plants, nor is there a dearth of skilled workmen, and although we have all these potential and controlling factors to solve the problem of production, yet the foreigner undersells us at our own doors; and, since we are driven from the market, not by reason of the untoward conditions which vexed our ancestors, *i. e.*, lack of capital, plant, and skilled workmen, we must look elsewhere for the advantage which the foreigner has over the manufacturer of the United States.

Now, my free trade friends, I propose to linger with you in this realm of natural right, and here I stop to inquire what I ought to be willing to pay for the suit of clothes I have on, and I know my Republican friends will agree with me that it ought to be a price which would apportion to each individual contributing to the production of this suit a just and fair compensation for the material supplied and work bestowed, such a compensation as will enable him to live, to have shelter over

his head, and food for self and family. (Applause.) The wool-grower, the spinner, the weaver, the tailor, and the woman who sews the buttons on, are all entitled to compensation for the work bestowed in producing the suit of clothes. If I exact this suit at a cheap price, and rob any or all along that line of productive effort, I have been guilty of engaging in the reciprocal brigandage of which our free trade friends accuse us. I ask again, why is it the foreigner can undersell us in our own market? All manufactured products are the result of the combined effort of labor and capital. To illustrate: Here are a dozen chains that cost \$12.00. Suppose the capitalist contributes \$9.00, and labor contributes \$3.00, that makes the whole cost \$12.00. The chains are sold in the market for \$16.00. You can readily see that it would not be fair for the capital to take all the profit, for if it did, labor would starve to death. It is not fair that labor should take all the profit; if it did, capital would retire from the scene. What is fair and just? Why, this: That between labor and capital which unite to produce that result, there should be such just and equitable apportionment as would enable capital to prosper and labor to live. (Cries of "Good, good," and applause.)

Now I turn to my free trade friend and ask him, since he is a humanitarian, how is it that the twelve chains sell in the streets of New York, when manufactured upon the other side and imported, cheaper than the New York manufacturer can produce them? It is because on the other side of the water the inhumanity of the employer, or of the system, if you please, accords to labor so little of the product of the result of the united effort of capital and labor. However little there is accorded to capital over there, it is certain that vastly less is given to the labor that joins to produce the result; and thus you see why it is the Belgian iron manufacturer can undersell the American manufacturer in the latter's home market. It is because, in the competitive race, our humanity insists upon a fair division between capital and labor, while over there, in order to undersell the American in his own market, they rob the workmen, and against the hurtful influence of that practice no system of legislation in the United States can prevail except that which removes the inequality between the foreign and domestic competitor by bridging the chasm between our humanity and their inhumanity.

We have recently witnessed the Belgian offering to construct iron bridges across American rivers cheaper than the American manufacturer can do it, and our free trade friend says it is our right and our duty to buy those cheaper bridges, ignoring the fact that in order to secure that cheapness the Belgian manufacturer robbed the man in the mine, the man who carted the ore to the furnace, the man who watched and tended the furnace, the man who stood by the rolling mill, and the man who finally shaped and fashioned the iron that was shipped to my country to construct the bridge. Thus, my countrymen, I insist without hesitation that the philosophy is upon our side, that the humanity is upon our side, and hence I say to these young gentlemen that they need not fear that they will be driven into a corner in advocating both the philosophy and the humanity of the protective system, so far as the right to buy where we can buy cheapest is concerned.

One word or two more. (Cries of "Go on, go on.") I must appeal from your kindness to your judgment. (Laughter.) It is suggested that the reduction of prices of which we protectionists are accustomed to speak, and the multiplication of our industries, are due wholly to the competition which the protective system induces. It is not altogether so, not altogether so, my friends. The result of competition is to reduce the selling price to the lowest figure consistent with the continuance of the business. ("Very good, very good.") Competition may compel a man to sell nails at \$.04 per pound, but competition will not enable him to continue long to sell nails at \$.03 a pound, if it costs \$.03½ to make them, unless he is going to quit business, and go into bankruptcy, and declare a dividend in his own favor. (Laughter.) What, then, is the true cause of the multiplication of our industries? I will tell you, and just here beg to call attention to the wisdom of the fathers, who indeed builded better than they knew, when they provided in the Constitution for securing, for a limited term, to authors and inventors, the exclusive ownership of their respective writings and inventions. You will observe that it is not the close competition that enables the competitor to sell the nails at \$.03 per pound, and calico at \$.05 or \$.10; it is the improved machinery, the better methods, that enable him to manufacture the nails and cotton goods at less cost. Competition prompts men to devise better and cheaper instrumentalities. In other words, competition stirs inventive genius into action, and that inventive genius gives

us the improved machinery which enables the manufacturer to reduce the selling price by reason of the lessened cost of production. ("That is good," and "that is good.") But that does not obviate the necessity for maintaining the protective system, as I shall show in one moment. Competition stirs inventive genius into activity, inventive genius gives us new instrumentalities and better ways of producing results. Within fifty years, since you and I were boys, Mr. Chairman (laughter), I beg pardon, I don't want to antedate our chairman (laughter), but since you and I were boys, our countrymen have given to the world more than three hundred and fifty thousand new and useful instrumentalities, methods, processes, and devices for cheapening and improving the products of labor, and multiplying the results obtained. Almost every one of these new devices creates a new industry; it may be only a screw, a spring, a handle; but whatever it is it creates a new industry. During the late campaign I roomed in a snug little apartment at the Burnet House in Cincinnati, with my friend Captain Vandegrift. I remember asking the Captain, one morning, how many industries were represented in that little room. He replied, "Oh, a dozen." I said, "Guess again." He replied, "Well, twenty-five; I ain't careful about the truth." "Well," I remarked, you are not; guess again." I counted, and in the little room where we were there were 122 distinct industries represented, and to-day, my countrymen, in the city of New York there are prosecuted a greater number of industries than were known to the world seventy-five years ago. (Cries of "That is so, that is so," and applause.)

Now my astute political adversary has sometimes said to me, "Ben, I think I have you on your protective theory." And he would proceed to say, "If your multiplication of industries is due to the inventive genius of man, and the reduction of prices to the new machines and devices by which you produce better results, then why do you still stick to the tariff?" "Because," I reply, "the inventive genius is not confined to this side of the ocean; sewing machines, spindles, looms and printing presses are as common on the other side as they are upon this, and they have the same means and instrumentalities for producing articles of commerce that we have." So that it resolves itself again into the question of the distribution of the profit resulting from the joint effort of capital and labor, for labor forms a large

item in the cost of a great per cent. of that which is the subject matter of commerce.

Here in this government of the people, by the people, and for the people, we look to it that all shall share in the prosperity which blesses our country, and so far as we can by legislative enactment, we provide that in the production of that which constitutes the subject matter of commerce, each one who contributes to that production shall have his fair and just distributive share of the profit. We recognize that in the prosperity of each we find the prosperity of all. It is of the highest consequence to this country that that prosperity of which we boast should not light upon the hill tops merely, nor in the valley here and there, but should reach as far as may be to the home of every citizen, and be shared by every worthy individual.

It is not my purpose to go into another line of thought which is suggested to me, but to say a word only, and I am through. My democratic friends often in derision say: "It is rather a cool proposition that you advocate the shutting out with jealous care of the product of a pauper labor, and then admit the paupers themselves." I agree that there is a suggestion of absurdity in the proposition. It is illogical, unphilosophical, and I shall so vote in Congress, to shut the gates of my country against every individual whose moral, intellectual, and physical growth does not add to the well-being and strength of my country when he casts in his lot among us. (Cries of "Good, good," and great applause.)

I agree that it is so utterly illogical to shut out the product of pauper hands, and then admit the pauper hands themselves, that no one can consistently advocate the one policy, except he stand by the other, and when we abandon the one, I shall vote in Congress to abandon the other also. (Cries of "Bravo, good.") The first duty of the law makers of this country is to the homes of America. If there are those who are more solicitous about the well being of those of other lands than they are about the happiness and prosperity of my own country, I have no sympathy with them. I would not shut the gates against any worthy man, whose coming would add to the moral, intellectual, and physical wealth of my country. Far from it, but, sir, I would be glad if our people would realize the importance of protecting our home industries, and the children of American homes against that kind of competition and association which is so destructive of their highest opportunities and most impor-

tant privileges. I would like first to have the boys that go forth from American homes learn to "Hew the shaft and lay the architrave." First the homes of America and the dwellers therein, and the sons of other lands afterward. And all this is entirely consistent, my countrymen, with the teaching and example of the great citizen, to whom our friend General Porter, paid so just and fitting a tribute. We say welcome to all the world, to every one who knows what freedom is; welcome to all those who can understand and appreciate what the functions of a free government are; but against those who clamber up into the midst of the rigging of our grand old ship of state merely to spy out land for strangers, or who come here merely as adventurers and without concern as to the well being of those with whom they have cast their lot, we say: "wait *until* we are able to assimilate you."

My countrymen, I beg pardon for having borne witness thus long, but I find myself a little like that good old man out in our country who was just learning to pray. He knelt with the deacon and proceeded to pray, but found great difficulty in bringing his prayer to a conclusion, so he prayed on and on, making several ineffectual efforts to reach a conclusion, until finally he said to the deacon, "Deacon, I can't wind this durned thing up." So I beg pardon for having trespassed so long. (Cries of "Go on, go on.") Gentlemen, I again appeal from your kindness to your judgment. I will only say in conclusion to the young men here, that they cannot do better work for their country than to engage in politics. Politics is the science of government. The world is looking on this grand experiment of ours, and it is for you young men to hold the ship of state steadily upon her course; the ark of the covenant is in it and you are at the helm. You have before you the experience of your fathers; you have learned from the books the office of government, its functions and its powers. The time has come when you must spare a few hours from Wall street and your stores, and study carefully the problem to be solved in the very near future.

I will not discuss other problems now, at some other time and place I may be glad to do it. I see for this club a career of splendid usefulness. You, Mr. Chairman, have referred in language more eloquent than I can command to the splendid mission it is to perform, and to the glorious opportunity that waits upon it. Those who study carefully the history of republics, must feel as I do to-night, that the young men of America

must be up and doing, or they will find themselves standing in the midst of the wreck of the institutions which their fathers have given them.

I thank you for your kind attention, and I beg pardon for having trespassed so long upon your time. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT then said :

Gentlemen, the subject of American industries and the eloquent speech that we have had from the distinguished gentleman this evening upon it, is to be followed in natural sequence by the toast, "The Suffrage." The life-blood of a free people. Its suppression is a crime against liberty.

"Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty, as we understand it."

The history of the Republican party will not be full and complete until there shall be inscribed on its pages that it has given the right of suffrage to every citizen in this broad land. We have with us to-night a brave and eloquent defender of that principle, and when he draws his sword in behalf of the right, it will never be sheathed until the battle is won. He comes from a land of intellectual giants who have assisted in molding the policy of the Government and the destiny of the nation. He is a worthy compeer of that eminent American whose name and fame are circumscribed only by the confines of civilization.

Gentlemen, I take pleasure in introducing to you the Hon. C. A. Boutelle, of Maine. (Great applause.)





ADDRESS OF MR. BOUTELLE.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Republican Club of the City of New York :

I need not assure you that I am not here with any hope of being able to add by words of mine to the superb tribute which has been paid to the object of your commemoration to-night in the matchless eulogy of that orator (General Porter) whose fame is not all your own, but whose charming gift of speech is known and admired throughout our common country—or that I hope to share, in any considerable degree, the encomiums which your intellects and hearts have paid to the stirring and brilliant eloquence of my friend from Ohio who has preceded me.

I am here, in the first place, because to me, as a member of the Republican party, proud of its achievements and zealous for its future, the invitation of an organization which has done so much to lift our banner from the vale of defeat to the ramparts of victory, as the Republican Club of the City of New York, is both a courtesy and a command. (Applause.)

I am here, also, because it is a duty from which no Republican who loves his country as a Republican should love it, can shrink to lift up his voice, humble though it may be, in behalf of that great fundamental principle, not only of the grand organization of which we are so proud, but the very corner-stone upon which the liberty and the perpetuity of our country rest—a full and fair ballot of free citizens, and an honest count of the vote of every man as it shall be cast. (Great applause.)

As has been said by your Chairman here to-night, there is a direct connection between the great subject of the protection of American industries and the maintenance of a free and inviolate suffrage. Nay, more than that, there is a direct connection be-

tween every moral and material interest of the American people and the preservation in its purity of that great safeguard of our liberties as citizens, of that distinctive feature of government of the people, by and for the people, the freemen's ballot, which, though it falls silently as the flakes of snow, falls with a benediction and is blended in the expression of the popular will that speaks as with the voice of God.

I have more hope, my fellow citizens, of a free ballot and a fair count in my country than I had prior to the campaign through which we have just so successfully passed. (Great applause.)

It has been my fortune in years past to advocate free suffrage throughout our country from the point of sentiment, of philosophy, and of patriotism, and we have made some advances. But, in the last campaign, thanks be to God, "who giveth the increase," we have been able to add to all these great agencies the aroused and intelligent interest in the relation of the suffrage question to the material prosperity of this country. (Great applause.)

One of the great hindrances toward the establishment of honest voting in our land—and I am glad to be able to call attention to this point in this great, imperial mart of commerce and trade—has been what is known as the conservative shrinking of the business interests of the country, lest the agitation of questions surrounded by difficulties in some sections of the Union should injure the business of the North as well as interfere with the politics of the South. It needed just such an object lesson as we had in this late campaign to educate the American people to a realization of the fact that not only does abstract justice demand, but the material interests of the people absolutely require, that the fundamental conditions of government in our country shall be equally exercised throughout the length and breadth of our domain. (Cries of "That is it. You are right.")

Let us every one, my friends, look at the truth of this proposition. Here to-night assembled are gentlemen representing probably nearly every avenue of legitimate industry and enterprise; and yet every man recognizing that outside the line of his profession, his handicraft, or his trade, he has a direct, personal, and individual interest in the proper administration of the Government of his country. That Government reaches out its

powerful hand and affects his individual interest in multiform and divers ways. That influence can only be exerted wisely, impartially, beneficently, when it is controlled by the voice and the intelligent will of the entire people of this country.

Legislation, the exercise of governmental power affecting the interests of the people, comes through the Congress of the United States. It originates largely in the popular branch of which I am an humble member. For every element of governmental influence for which you look to the Congress of the United States you must wait for the systematic and organized exercise of the governing power in that legislative branch. And all of you who have been members of Legislatures or members of municipal boards know—all of you who are familiar with the institutions of your country are aware that in the great “tribunal of the people,” so called, the House of Representatives, every public interest must seek its redress or its advancement through the parliamentary organs of that body known as the Committees of the House.

Now, as a result of the suppression of a free ballot in a considerable portion of our country, and, Mr. President, solely as a result of that suppression, to-day the Executive Government of the United States and the control of what is known as the popular branch of Congress, are in the hands of the Democratic party. A Democratic Speaker selects the men through whom, as agents, you have to seek relief from burdens and aid for the industries and the interests of a great people.

The distribution of those enormous powers is a matter that interests you and me. It is not sufficient that we exercise our rights in our own localities without reproach and without disturbance, but it is important to you and to me that the right of suffrage shall be as free and untrammelled in all other sections of the country as it is to the people of our neighborhood.

Realizing that the Government of the United States is to-day the Government of sixty-five or seventy millions of the most intelligent, the most enterprising and progressive people on the globe, let us ask ourselves what considerations should control in the selection of the men to be constituted as the grand commissions through which we are to seek all the assistance and encouragement that is needed to inspire the great energies of development and progress in our land. Look at the House of

Representatives as it is, and ask yourselves whether, as a result of the systematic violation of the constitutional and lawful rights of American citizens throughout a large area of our country, the powers of legislation are so distributed as best to subserve the ends of enlightened government. We have a Committee of Ways and Means, of which you have heard, to which are referred all the questions affecting the raising of revenues, affecting the levying of imposts, affecting the great business and commercial interests of the country; and at the head of that committee is a man with more influence, in many respects, over the business interests of the country than the Speaker of the House or the President of the United States. And from what portion of our Continental domain does our Speaker of the House select the man for that high duty? From the State of New York, with its vast and teeming industries? From New England, where those industries had their birth? From the great Middle States that have grown like giants in their might? No. But as a direct result of the tampering with the ballot in the South which the business interests of the North have permitted, the Chairman of the Business Committee of the People of the United States is selected from the town of Corsicana, in the State of Texas, where my friend by my side says there is "one blacksmith's shop and a horse-shed." (Great laughter.)

We have another Committee of the House—a Committee on Commerce, the very suggestion of which calls to mind this magnificent sea-front here, our sweeping coast-line, the wonderful expanse of our Great Lakes—and yet the Chairman of the Committee on Commerce is sought in the inland State of Missouri. (Laughter.)

We have a Committee on Education, to which is referred every question affecting the educational interests of a great people. One would say that the Chairman of that Committee would naturally be chosen from a section where education is especially fostered and respected. Under the present regime, he is selected from that liberal and cultured section, the State of Georgia. (Laughter.)

We have a Committee on Naval Affairs, in the counsels of which I am graciously permitted to occupy a seat at the lower end of the board, out of consideration for the fact that, during a recent period of our country's history, I wore a color of clothing that has never been fashionable in the section from whence our present rulers come. Now, where should we look for a

Chairman for our Naval Committee? for a man who should be inspired with pride in all the magnificent achievements of the naval heroes who have made that branch of our military service so illustrious? The gentleman who now occupies that position was selected because of the fact that he fought under the Rebel flag instead of the Stars and Stripes, and that he lives in the extreme northern part of the State of Alabama, where even fresh water is so shoal that steamboats drawing three feet have to play leap-frog over the bars to reach Montgomery, the first capitol of the Confederacy.

We have a Committee in which New York ought to feel a peculiar interest, formerly called, as established on motion of a member from Maine, the Committee on American Ship-building and Ship-owning Interests, now called the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Do you find a New York man at the head of that Committee? Do you find a man from New England? Do you find a man from the coast-line? Do you find any man from the Lake shores, from Buffalo, or Toledo, or Sandusky, or Cleveland? No. The Chairman of the present Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the United States hails from the great maritime and piscatorial State of Arkansas. (Laughter.)

We have another Committee, more important in many respects than either of these, a Committee on Elections. The tribunal that sits in judgment not only upon the right of the member to his seat, but upon the right of the constituency to be represented at all. Now, in the name of all that is reasonable, we might well expect that the Chairman of that Committee, invested with so much power to enforce or set aside all the great safeguards that have been thrown, or attempted to be thrown around the suffrages of a free people, would be chosen from some locality where there is a wholesome respect for honest voting and a decent regard for the constitutional rights of American citizens. Under the present dispensation, the Chairman of the Committee on Elections is Mr. Crisp, from the State of Georgia, where you know they lie awake nights devising methods to secure the exercise of the free right of suffrage; and this gentleman—the chief of the tribunal before which my honored colleague or myself may be called to establish our right to give our solitary vote for American interests—reports in the Congressional Directory, that when he was chosen to the

present Congress only 1,700 votes were cast in his entire district, every one of which, he modestly claims, was cast for himself.

Now, I might go through, if time permitted and the occasion were fitting, a list of these committees thus constituted—the committees of the popular branch of the American Congress—committees dealing with the all-important affairs of the American people, and show you how the vital interests of the United States are imperiled, are set at naught and treated with contempt as a direct result of the suppression in a large portion of our country of the right of the American people to a free, fair ballot, and an honest count. (Applause.)

Why, my friends, in the recent campaign you had a remarkable experience in the State of New York, where the leaders of the Committee of Ways and Means—that Committee of thirteen, dominated by six men from the South, every one of them imbued with all the prejudices of the Slave System and of a four years' struggle to destroy that flag (pointing to the National Ensign)—attempted to educate the people of the Empire State in regard to the proper management of their magnificent industrial enterprises. It is worth while to recall just what an anomaly has been put upon our States and upon our country by this suppression of the honest will of the American people.

Look at the list of the six gentlemen who propose to regulate the vast and teeming industries of the greatest manufacturing people on the earth. I find in the census returns of 1880 the following figures showing the wage-roll and annual products of manufacturing industry in their respective Congressional Districts :

	Annual Wages.	Value of Annual Product.
Roger Q. Mills, Texas.....	\$151,590	\$1,152,819
Benton McMillin, Tennessee	107,036	1,253,450
C. R. Breckenridge, Arkansas.....	109,963	791,847
W. C. P. Breckenridge, Kentucky...	664,794	5,780,292
Henry G. Turner, Georgia.....	189,032	1,222,645
William L. Wilson, W. Va.....	575,178	4,409,038
	<u>\$1,797,593</u>	<u>\$14,610,091</u>

Their six Congressional Districts for a year foot up an aggregate wage roll of only \$1,797,000, and the entire annual product represented by these great masters of economic science amounts to only fourteen and a half millions of dollars; and yet Mills and McMillin and Breckinridge and the others were tramping

the State of New York during the last campaign, undertaking to teach you from their cross-roads experiences in swapping mules and shooting negroes, how to carry on the great industrial operations of the Empire State, which paid out in 1880 to its wage-earners \$198,634,000, and whose manufacturing product for the year was worth more than one thousand millions of dollars. (Great applause.)

I might emphasize the comparison by citing that the State of New York, which has no representative in the business committee of the House, produced in 1880 more than seventy-five times as much value of manufactures, and paid the producers over one hundred times as much in wages as the six districts of the Democratic free trade oracles of the Committee of Ways and Means. Indeed, I might go further and show that New York in 1880 produced five times as much in manufactures, and paid six times as much in wages as were produced and paid in the entire States of Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, Georgia, Tennessee, and West Virginia, combined.

But I will not go into that, because the campaign in behalf of protection to American industry is over, and, thank God, it is won. (Great applause.)

My object here to-night is simply to put into the minds of some of you men of New York the sentiment that will clinch that victory so that it will stay won for more than a quarter of a century to come. (Great applause.)

How happened it, my friends, that we were threatened with the Mills Bill during the last campaign? Do you recall the narrow margin by which that dire menace to the prosperity of this country was forced through the popular branch of Congress? Barely thirteenth majority. The votes in favor of the Mills Bill came 102 from the South and 60 from the North, while the opposing votes came 133 from the North and 16 from the South. The North two to one for protection, the South six to one against it! And what did that thirteen majority represent? Why, in the very State of Georgia to which I have referred, the Congressional Directory giving the figures furnished by the men themselves, it is only claimed that 27,533 votes were cast in the entire State, and yet Georgia furnished ten of the thirteen majority in the House that thrust the Mills Bill like a fire-brand upon the country.

In my State, when I was a candidate at the same election, it required 32,000 honest, intelligent citizens to go to the polls,

vote and have their votes counted before my constituency could have one vote in the House of Representatives. In the district of my friend from Ohio and in the districts of New York the case was substantially the same. Michigan averaged 34,400, and Kansas 38,104, and the general average in the Northern States was about 35,000. And yet, when the thirty odd thousand voters of my own district found expression through my single vote against this attack upon our industries, Georgia strode into the arena with a backing of only 27,000 voters, nullified my "nay" with one of her representatives, and then recorded nine more "yeas" for the Mills Bill on the roll-call.

Now, fellow-citizens, that brings the matter home to you and me. You may organize your New York Republican Club. You may have your campaign meetings. You may appeal to the intelligence and patriotism of the people. You may send your thirty-four Representatives to Congress from New York State; but so long as a portion of this country, where the suffrage is suppressed, can send men there to vote down your Representatives contrary to the will of their own people, government is a farce and your industries are in constant danger. (Cries of "Good! good!")

So, my friends, I rely upon the aroused, intelligent, business sentiment of this country to take hold of and right the gigantic wrong which now stares the American people in the face. To-day, in the House of Representatives, there are 37 members of Congress, casting 37 of the votes that carried the Mills Bill, in whose Congressional Districts, by their own record, only 306,000 votes were cast; while in 37 districts in the North, to obtain the same power in the House, in votes, but not the same power in organization of committees, it required 1,220,000 votes. In other words, on the basis of the popular vote as returned, one man in the Southern Districts counts for as much in Congressional representation as four voters in the North. How long are you men of New York going to stand that? (A voice: "Why don't you change it?")

My friend asks, "Why don't you change it?" I will tell him. Whenever that question has been asked, the other question has followed it—the question that organized and systematic wrong has always defiantly asked—the question that William M. Tweed contemptuously asked in New York City until he found an answer in the indignant response of an outraged

people. "What are you going to do about it?" (A voice: "We are going to right it.")

"What are you going to do about it?" What a question to ask the descendants of the men who found out what to do with the tea in Boston Harbor—of the men who found out what to do with English usurpation at Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill! What a question to ask of the people who under Abraham Lincoln's lead found out what to do with the attempt to destroy the grandest government ever formed by man! Why, my fellow-citizens, for us to ask that question, or to permit it to go unanswered, is to abdicate the throne of American citizenship, and to confess the failure of government by the people.

To-day there are twenty-eight members holding seats in the Fiftieth Congress, exercising all the powers of legislation, in whose Congressional Districts in the South there is an aggregate of 175,000 colored majority. We know what that means. To-morrow the vote of this very House, the votes of these identical men who hold their seats in disregard of the will of the people, are to decide the right of a South Carolina Republican to occupy a seat to which he was elected by more than 15,000 majority. And that will be decided against him by the votes of 37 members claiming only an average constituency vote of about 8,000 each behind them.

The case against Robert Smalls, the man, then a slave, who brought the "Planter" past the guns of Sumter, and surrendered the ship and his own services to grand old Admiral Farragut in "the days that tried men's souls," has been denounced and arraigned on the floor of Congress, and his rights denied by this very Mr. Crisp, from the State of Georgia, with his 1,700 votes returned from a district in which there are nearly 2,500 colored majority.

Now, what *are* we going to do about it? I will tell you what we *must* do about it. This is a representative government, and the wrongs in regard to the suffrage have got to be redressed by the representatives of the American people. (Applause.) And so long as we are unable to secure honest representation from one section of our country, we must rely upon a united front in the other sections of our country. (Applause.)

I would readily take a contract to secure a free and fair election for members of Congress in every district in the United States, if the people of this country would furnish me with two

very simple factors—the people of the North, I mean. Give us first—and you can do it, you people of New York can help to do it, you can help more than any other State—give us a good, reliable, working Republican majority in the House. Next, and more important, give us a public sentiment at home that will put underneath the coats of that Republican majority backbones as big around as a man's arm, and a purpose as stalwart as the heart of Abraham Lincoln himself. (Cries of "Hear, hear.") And then, when these men come up from any section of the country to the tribunal of the people's rights, bearing certificates which, on their very face, are tainted with fraud, perjury, ballot-box stuffing, or murder, as in Arkansas (great applause, and cries of "Clayton"), then this Republican Congress shall have a committee on elections, with a chairman not chosen from Georgia—with a chairman representing a constituency of more than 1,700 votes; a chairman panoplied with all the traditions and glories and purposes of the Republican party, and surrounded by colleagues sworn with him to fealty to the Constitution, to government of the people and by the people, through the unbought, untrammelled suffrages of the citizens. (Great applause.) And that chairman and that committee shall take every such would-be usurper of popular rights by the collar and send him back to the constituency he has sought to defraud. And they will continue to send all such men back, until they are taught by the majesty of the outraged sentiment of the American people that a Congressional District, North or South, shall not wield or obtain the influence of a vote in the American Congress except as the expression of the free and unbiased will of a lawful constituency. (Great applause.)

I am not going into a discussion of the details of this problem. It is enough to say that that is the great task before us to-day and we are going to make a commencement of it in the next Congress, even with our small and narrow margin. We are going to enter upon this task of redeeming the ballot-boxes of the people under the restored domination of the Republican party next March. (Applause.) And if any man should be squeamish or hesitating because of the race question in one section of our country, I want to call his attention to the marvelous facility with which the Democratic brother in the South reconciles himself to the exercise of negro suffrage whenever that suffrage can be wrested to the advantage of the Democratic party.

And, furthermore, I wish to call your attention to-night, on this occasion commemorative of the great leader of our party, to the fact that many years ago, before legislative enactment or constitutional provision had blazed the way to that free suffrage which should be the right of every man born or naturalized on the free soil of the American Republic, Abraham Lincoln used this prophetic language in his letter to the first Governor who organized under a free Constitution in one of the old slave States—I refer to his letter to Michael Hahn, of March 13th, 1863, in which, after congratulating the Governor, he said, “Now you are about to have a convention which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in, as for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks.”—and then the great President, who was so soon to be a martyr, went on to say that which should sink deep into the heart of every patriotic citizen of this Republic—“*They would probably help in some trying time to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom.*” (Great applause.)

I recall a time in the recent history of our country, when after a campaign of unexampled excitement, in 1876, when threats of a civil war were in the air, with unrest and disquiet in every quarter; when the election of the Chief Magistrate of the Nation hung upon the frail tenure of one electoral vote; when millions were forthcoming to debauch the electoral count; when every art of chicanery and intrigue was called into requisition; I remember that these dusky men, of whom Lincoln said that some day they might help to preserve the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom—every one of those colored Electors from the Southern States resisted alike the seductions of bribery, the fear of oppression, the punishment of prison, and threats against life itself; and that when the vote was finally cast, the one fateful deciding ballot by which the Republican Party held its control of this great Republic, was given by the black hand of an emancipated slave. (Great applause.)

Ah! my friends, are they to be trusted with the suffrage? These were representative men of the race. They were taken from the field, and from the farm, and from the workshop, and from the highway, and yet, to their honor be it remembered—I am sorry I cannot say as much for some other people in our land—that

the only doubt that was cast upon the integrity of the Electoral College, that the only suggestion that it could be possible for any Presidential elector to prove false and faithless to his trust came from men of paler faces than those from whose limbs the clanking chains of slavery were stricken off by the hand of the immortal patriot in whose honor we are to-night assembled.

Now, friends, thanking you for your kind attention, I beg you to see to it that no cry of "bloody shirt," and there have been too many bloody shirts in the South—that no maudlin talk about "reviving sectional issues;" that no deprecation of "inflaming the animosities of the war," will persuade you or any one of you to submit for one instant longer to the crimes, to the outrages, to the infamies that have disgraced your country and mine because they have been permitted under the authority of our flag. Let us have it understood from one end of this land to the other that the man who deprives a freeman of his ballot, or a citizen of his right, assaults the flag of the Republic. (Great applause.)

Let us have it understood that the man from whose limbs Abraham Lincoln with his own saintly hand smote the manacles, is fit to carry out the purposes of the great government for which Abraham Lincoln gave up his own life. (Cries of "Good, good.") Let us have it understood that the ballot-box in this country is as sacred as the head-stone at the grave of a dead soldier. Then we will have a full, free ballot, and a fair count, and when we have that we shall cease to fear the advocacy of the old dogmas and policies of the slavery era. We shall cease to be haunted by the ghost of free trade, or vexed by doctrines false to our institutions and inimical to our prosperity; we shall be united under one flag, with the magnificent destiny of building up the wondrous future of the greatest and grandest and happiest nation upon which the sun shall ever shine. (Great applause.)

The PRESIDENT:

Gentlemen, the next regular toast is "The Republican Party." It guided the nation throughout the Rebellion, it solved the problem of reconstruction and resumption, and now, in obedience to the will of the people, it will, under the Constitution, secure the legitimate fruits of the Civil War. It is on such an occasion as this that we can reason together, reaffirm our devotion to the country and the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

Our Committee had invited to speak to this toast JOHN M. THURSTON, Esq., of Nebraska, but at a late moment we received this dispatch from him, which I will ask your indulgence to read.

“Am suddenly called West by matters of imperative character. Cannot express my disappointment. My heart will be with you in your rejoicing and we can all join in the hope that the Republican Party born of the quickened American conscience, baptized in the blood of its heroes and martyrs, consecrated to the cause of liberty and humanity, will enter upon its new lease of power fully prepared to maintain the dignity of the United States among nations, to perpetuate American prosperity by fostering and protecting American industries, to measure out justice with a bountiful hand to the needy, surviving veterans, and to see to it that the whole power of the nation's government is at the service of every American citizen to maintain him in his right to live, to labor, and to vote.

“I have the honor to remain your Republican brother,

JOHN M. THURSTON.”

The PRESIDENT:

Gentlemen, in this emergency our Committee found a distinguished divine of this city to fill the gap—the Rev. Dr. Robert S. MacArthur. Dr. MacArthur is no politician. He is not an aspirant for any position, and he has no fences to repair. He is here with us to-night, and we welcome him and thank him for his presence.

I now take pleasure in presenting to you Dr. MacArthur. (Applause.)





ADDRESS OF DR. MACARTHUR.

Mr. Chairman and fellow Republicans : I do not propose to fill Mr. Thurston's place to-night. I could scarcely even rattle around in it, if I were to make the attempt to fill it. I was asked last evening, literally at the eleventh hour, to speak to-night; and as I have spoken twice already to-night in different parts of the city, and came in at a late hour, you will not expect a long speech from me. I remember the couplet which we sometimes sing, and which we generally apply to another than our own political party :

“ While the lamp holds out to burn,
The ”—well, we will say, *latest parson*—“ may return.”

(Laughter.) And so, I have returned. I am ready always, even as the apostle Paul teacheth us, to give a reason for the hope that is in me. You have been somewhat fearful of ministers during these recent days. (Great applause.) I was present that unhappy and now historical morning, and I sat on a penitential bench for several months after. Indeed, I do not know that I got off it until quite recently. I say that I am always ready to give a reason for the political hope that is in me. It has sometimes been said that we must not bring politics into religion. Perhaps that is so ; but I certainly think it is a very good thing if a man has the right kind of religion, and the right kind of politics, to bring religion into politics. (Applause.)

I have heard it said that a man cannot do it ; well, the man who cannot must have a very weak religion, or he must belong to a very poor political party, or both. (Cries of “Good.”) If an American citizen is so interested in the affairs of the other world that he cannot do his duty in this world, it is very doubtful whether he will ever see another world as good as this world. (Great laughter and applause.)

I feel disposed to give you my most hearty congratulations to-night. It would be a very late hour, and I should have had to make a great many previous speeches on the same evening, when, in the inspiring national atmosphere that we now breathe, I could not speak words of congratulation and enthusiasm. I rejoice in the early history of the Republican party. I rejoice in its recent victories. I rejoice to-night in its brilliant prospects. (Applause.) We are here to-night, not as partisans, but rather as patriots. (Great applause.) We are here, indeed, as earnest members of the Republican party; but we are here, also, as loyal citizens of the American Republic. (Applause.) I hold, sir, that Republicanism is synonymous with Americanism. (Applause.) I never knew a Republican to fire at that honored and beloved flag. (Great applause.) But I have known Republicans to bear that flag aloft with brave heart and stalwart arm when it was torn to shreds by Democratic bullets. (Great applause.)

Now, gentlemen, I want to say a few words about the preparation for the Republican party. The preparation for the Republican party began very early in the history of this country; it began even before the discovery of this country. I suppose that we have all read enough of the history pertaining to our land to know that this country came very near being discovered by Mohammedans. Had they succeeded in their design, we would now be under the dark shadow of Islam. That certainly would not be Republican. You know that there went out through the straits of Gibraltar, long before the days of Columbus, a fleet destined to land, as it was supposed, on these American shores; they were Mohammedans on a voyage of discovery, and they were wrecked after clearing those straits, and the enterprise was a failure. I believe that God had wonderful purposes, not only for the American Republic, but for the entire race, in the founding of this nation and in the creation of the party whose name we proudly bear. (Applause.) After the discovery by Columbus, great nations of Europe—France, Spain, and Italy—strove for the control of this land. They longed to plant their feet on her virgin soil, and wave their national banners beneath the stars that shine on this land; but, thank God, they were unable to carry out their purpose. There were others, with other blood in their veins, with other hopes in their hearts, with other purposes in their breasts, who were destined by Divine Providence to lay the foundations of this

nation. They were men with lime in their bones, and iron in their blood. They were men whose capital was granite rocks, and icebergs, and faith in humanity, and faith in God as the Ruler of nations; and with this faith they have carved out of this apparently unpromising material the greatest nation on the earth. (Applause.)

What marvelous progress this nation has made! I speak the more freely, for I was born under the British flag; but the day that the bullet pierced that noble form (pointing to the picture of Lincoln), I lifted my hand to God, and said, "With God's help, I will have a ballot." If I could cast a ballot more intelligently than some, and more patriotically than many—and that would not have been hard to do in those days—it was my duty to have the ballot, and so to cast it. Oh, those were times that tried men's souls! Never shall I forget the experiences of those days, and the weeks which followed, when the news flashed over this land that Lincoln was smitten by the hand of a cruel and rebel assassin. But those days of trial refined, purified, and ennobled our great people. We were then cemented into a Nation. The hand that struck Lincoln really smote the then shattered idol of rebellion; it called out all that was noblest in the South as well as in the North. We then stood up a great people, the glory of America, and the wonder of the world.

It is stated on good authority that Alexander Hamilton and others urged the States to adopt the Constitution, because the country was so small that it could be readily governed. There was a territory of only 868 miles long in the entire country then, and only 750 miles wide, and the strong argument used by Alexander Hamilton, as I have said, was that the country was so small that it could be readily governed. What do we see to-day. We see this great nation stretching from the Great Lakes to the Gulf; we see it reaching from the mighty Atlantic to the mightier Pacific. We see it reaching beyond, until now the proud boast of Britain is realized in America, for on Republican soil the sun never sets. (Great applause.)

But I want to speak also of the achievements of the Republican party. I have been to some degree, and in a limited way, a student of political history and of political science; and I hesitate not to say that there never was in the history of the world a party so honorable and so honored as the Republican party of these United States. (Great applause.) You shall study in vain the history of Greece, the history of Rome, the history of France,

the history of Germany, the history of Great Britain, and the previous history of these United States, to find any party so inspired with patriotic devotion and so triumphant in sublime achievement as the Republican party. (Great applause.) I believe that there never was such a quarter of a century in the world's history as that which fittingly closed with the death of General Grant. The greatest social and moral problems that have ever been solved in the world were solved during that remarkable period. We have seen Germany united into a great empire, France recovering from terrible defeat, Victor Emmanuel made king over united Italy, Russia emancipating many millions of serfs, and the chains stricken from four millions of black men and women in America; we have seen the greatest civil war of the world waged on our own shores, and we have heard the song of victory chanted by a free and joyous people, with the rolling waves of two oceans as the majestic accompaniment. I tell you, gentlemen, that the sword of Grant and the pen of Lincoln have written the brightest page ever written in the world's history. (Great applause.)

The Republican party was born amid the tears and prayers of the noblest men and the purest women of the world. The Republican party was cradled in the lap of love and loyalty, the lap of patriotism and piety. The Republican party was fed on the sincere milk of devotion to country and to God, and later on the strong meat of heroic sacrifice, on fields stained with blood shed in the sacred cause of national honor and eternal justice. The fires of its holy patriotism were fanned into a consuming flame by the prayers of humble men and women at family altars in thousands of homes all over the broad land. The Republican party grew to stalwart manhood in the Halls of Legislation, and on the fields of fierce battle, she came out of her baptism of blood not for herself alone, but for America and the world; and to-day, because of this party, America sits crowned a radiant queen in the Congress of the nations. (Great applause.) The Republican party gave us as soldiers, and as statesmen, men whose names are written high upon the scroll of fame and are engraved deep in the heart of love. Need I call the roll of the living and dead? Need I speak of a Garfield, both statesman and soldier, of a Harrison, both statesman and soldier, and now our President-elect? (Great applause.) Need I speak of a Sheridan, a Sherman, and of that man, silent amid the world's

praise, as he was silent amid the abuses of despicable foes, the immortal Grant. (Great applause.) If I turn to other fields, we shall find that there are other names on the list, not less honored for bravery, statesmanship, and patriotism; but these are enough to show what the party has been—what the party has done.

But perhaps I ought to emphasize that last sentence by a few additional remarks. When I think of what the Republican party has done I am stirred with patriotic enthusiasm. It has given the brightest lustre to all that is noblest in our history as a people. Take that quarter of a century out of the history of these United States and how poor the record would be. Isn't that true? (Great applause.) Blot out that record, and what have you left? I look over the previous history of this country and I find much to admire. I came to it in 1863, when it was in the throes of civil strife. I well remember those days. The thought of that time has gone down into my blood; every drop of it is now responsive to the thrilling and tender memories of those trying days. They have gone down into my marrow; they are an essential part of my being. I am glad of it. I never want to forget the memories of my first acquaintance with the throbbing history of 1863 and 1864. Oh, how I remember that 19th day of October, 1864, when the Union forces were blistered and bleeding, scattered and defeated, and when a little man with his black horse came galloping down the lines and shouted, "Turn back, boys—turn back, boys." (Great cheers.) Scattered they were, when Sheridan was twenty miles away, but brave as lions when Sheridan was at their head. That black horse, and that little man, will ride through centuries of American history, rallying us to all that is noble, and shaming us if we turn our back upon duty and right. (Great applause.) I think also of the achievements of this great party in giving liberty to the slave. I found it hard to give my full endorsement to the North until the Emancipation Proclamation was published, and then I was filled with holy enthusiasm. I then gave my allegiance to this party and I have never taken back my hand or heart from that hour until this.

And now, do we turn for a moment, as I conclude—(Cries, "Go on, go on.")—do we turn to the future. It was said, now and then during the recent campaign, first by certain third party men (laughter), and afterward by our Mugwump brother,

that the mission of the Republican party was ended. They certainly did their feeble best to fulfil their foolish prophecy; but it looks now very much as if we were to have a mission for years to come. I want to have another quarter of a century of it, any way. I won't take less. I believe in the final perseverance of Republican saints. (Great applause, and laughter.) That is an article in my political creed. I believe in the perseverance of the saints when they are the right kind of saints—that is when they are Republican saints; and I don't find many political saints of any other name. Our party certainly is not perfect, but I know not where to go to find a better party. Now, I used to be urged, I say, by some of the third party men, that if I was a temperance man, and I am, that I should not vote with the Republican party; that I should vote practically with the Democratic party by giving my vote to the third party. I could not see it that way. I do not see it that way now. I believe that the hope of this country, along the lines of all moral reforms, is with the future of the Republican party. (Great applause.)

Now, let me name one or two of these reforms. And first of all, there is ballot reform. I was very much interested in what we heard from our two distinguished Congressmen here to-night. The time has come when we must enact better laws for the protection of the ballot-box. But for Governor Hill we would have better laws in New York now. At this late hour I shall not go into the details. But we must make bribery impossible. We must not degrade our manhood and debauch the suffrage. To this reform our noble party is pledged. See to it that the pledge is redeemed. Another reform is equal rights for all men, black or white, North or South. The vote of the colored man in the South must be cast with as much freedom and counted with as much honesty as the vote of the white man in the North or South. (Great applause.) We must make good that assertion, if it takes all the power of the government to do it. (Cries of "good, good;" and applause.) We must understand that though a man be black, "A man's a man, for a' that," and a citizen of this Republic, and naturally a member of the Republican party. (Great applause.)

There are other practical reforms. We have done something toward the protection of our industries; we must take no back track; there must be no backward step. We must stand for

the protection of American homes, as we have stood for the protection of American industries. This campaign has done much toward teaching political economy. Some of it was very bad economy, and some of it was very good economy. We shall eliminate the bad, we shall emphasize the good; and we shall press on to win more glorious victories in the time to come than we have in the past.

Now, let me say, gentlemen, I want reasonable, possible, genuine temperance reform; I insist that we go forward, and not backward; in this State particularly, in this last campaign, we lifted the banner aloft. Shall any man now say that it is to be lowered? Braver words I never heard on a political platform than I heard Warner Miller speak. (Great applause, and three cheers for Warner Miller.) Personally I would go further than he went; but certainly no one of us will refuse to go as far. I say this, and say it with great earnestness: the Republican party has really no right to exist except it be in the fore-front as the noble and triumphant leader in everything that appertains to the welfare of the country and to the glory of the race. It must be the exponent of great moral ideas, the apostle of all true moral reforms. Some parties can live if they have not that high motive; indeed, they could not live with any high moral purpose. Not ours, gentlemen, thank God. We must keep in the fore-front; we must march at the head of the column. In the thick of the fight our banner shall float. I think that the Excise Commission Bill that is now before our Legislature is utterly bad. It is bad always and everywhere; it is bad inherently, and that continually; and I was glad to go to Albany last week to say a word against it, and to make some suggestions with reference to a better bill that might be introduced. Perhaps no really good bill will be signed by Governor Hill; but it is at least our duty, both in the light of principle and policy, to introduce and pass a good bill, and leave the responsibility of a veto with him and his party. It looks, however, as if this one was bad enough for him to sign. (Laughter.)

A little time ago it so happened that I was in Russia. I was in the city of Moscow. I was in the Kremlin in Moscow, and in the Treasury in the Kremlin. Moscow, you know, is the heart of old Russia. The Kremlin is the heart of Moscow, and the Treasury is the heart of the Kremlin. There, in the Treasury, I saw a long line of vacant thrones; and here, before them,

was a row of pedestals, and on each pedestal a crown, indicating Russia's progress, Russia's power, and Russia's insatiable ambition. There was the crown of Siberia; here the crown of Kazan; here the crown of Astrachan; here the crown of poor, bleeding Poland; and here the crown of the Crimea. Here, too, were the vacant thrones of Peter and Catherine, of Nicholas, and of the Alexanders. It was a suggestive sight, these crowns and thrones and coronation robes, teaching at once the greatness and the emptiness of all earthly power.

To-night another vision rises before me. The American Republic is the Queen crowned in splendor, power, and glory; and before her, are the crowns of her peaceful triumphs and resplendent victories. Here is one of her crowns: suffrage for the black man, freedom for all men; here is another: a free ballot and an honest count; here is another: a true temperance reform. I look away in the distance: I see whole rows of pedestals still unoccupied. Here is one awaiting the crown of Washington Territory; another the double crown of the Dakotas; and another the richly jeweled crown of Montana; and soon, when Canada comes offering hers, we shall place it high before the nations of the earth. This beautiful queen, glancing over them, directs that on every pedestal there shall be a crown to the glory of the Republican party, to the glory of the American nation, to the glory of the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God. (Great applause and cheers.)

MR. ADDOMS, the *President*, then said: The next toast on the list is the "New South. Let her be just and fear not. Let her forget the things which are behind, and reach forth unto the things which are before."

It was expected that General NATHAN GOFF, of West Virginia, would speak to this toast, as a representative of the New South, but he has informed us that his engagements at Wheeling, in endeavoring to prevent his being counted out by Democratic frauds and trickery, prevent his attendance here to-night.

The next toast of the evening is "The Army and Navy. Our gallant defenders in the Rebellion; their present condition merits the solicitude of the patriot."

No Republican assemblage will have considered its labors complete until it has accorded to the brave soldiers and sailors who saved the nation a proper recognition and just meed of

praise. A soldier will to-night in eloquent phrase recount the deeds of bravery of the heroes of the war, the battles they have fought and won; the privations they have endured and the grateful appreciation in which they are held by their fellow countrymen.

Gentlemen, it gives me pleasure to present to you General Henry L. Burnett, of this city. (Applause.)





ADDRESS OF GENERAL BURNETT.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Republican Club: It is rather a large undertaking at this time in the evening to make anything of a speech, post-prandial or otherwise, and especially, it requires some courage, more than is ordinarily possessed by a soldier who has passed back into the civil ranks, to follow such eloquent gentlemen as you have heard to night.

I fancy that I have been named for this toast something on the plan in which courts martial or military commissions or councils of war are held, and that is to require the lowest in rank and youngest in commission to give his vote first. In all the great army, there should have been selected some one who performed a more conspicuous part to respond to this toast; but it is a rule of the service not to shrink from any duty.

When the call came from Abraham Lincoln for the men of this country to gather to the defense of the imperiled Union, there came from all its quarters in the Northern States, the loyal hosts.

I do not propose to-night to review their deeds, nor to detain you with a story of their sufferings, or their achievements—rather another thought, and very briefly, and that is something of the place of the soldier after the war, in civil life, and our condition in the event of foreign war.

The soldiers of the great army, as they came down out of the thick smoke of battle, and out of the heat of the conflict, like Moses from Sinai, radiant with the breath of Divinity, as they passed back into and mingled with the hosts that were part of the civil life, they became a potent factor in what has taken place in the last twenty-five years. Think of it, for a moment.

There was that great body, passing from conflict back into peace and into peaceful industries—and what a host it was. How experienced, how drilled for the great achievements of the civil duties which they took upon themselves. Physically and mentally trained in the struggles and experiences of war and battle, constantly met by and overcoming great obstacles, they became great in resources, great in physical energy and they learned much of the varied forces of the country, and of its wonderful resources. They came back mingling with the civil forces and became a great power—a power that has sent us forward so rapidly, so wonderfully in the achievements of the last quarter of a century. They came out of the war after we had spent six thousand millions of dollars, more than one-third of the entire national wealth, in carrying on the conflict, and the country three thousand millions of dollars still in debt; the South with its industries swept away, its social and industrial life in chaos, three hundred thousand of our citizens—the best and bravest of our manhood—dead on Southern battlefields; many of the five or six hundred thousand men coming out of the war maimed and wounded and pensioners on the bounty of the nation; our factories closed, our merchant marine annihilated, our flag swept from the sea. Taking up the country in this condition, what has been achieved, and how much is due to the great soldier element for what the country is to-day?

In 1860, a people of thirty millions; to-day a people of sixty-five millions—the greatest people speaking one language, the greatest civilized people to-day on the face of the earth, the greatest homogeneous people standing at the front of civilization.

They took up the great work and they brought forward the nation in this last twenty-five years, working shoulder to shoulder with the sons of industry, until, as I have said, we have advanced from a nation of thirty millions to a nation of sixty-five millions; with a wealth of twelve to fourteen thousand millions of dollars in 1860, springing up to sixty thousand millions; our farms increasing in value from three millions to ten millions, our farm products quadrupled, our manufactures tripled, our industries quadrupled in every direction, and the great nation moving forward until to-day, what is it? Inspired by energy and courage, by the valiant bravery of that host, the great broadening intellect, energy, and force of those soldiers, have done what? It

has builded your roads, canals, and railways, bridged your rivers, built up your great manufactories. It has stretched over the great continent railways from sea to sea; it has passed on in its march across the Mississippi River, plowed the fields, planted them and garnered the harvests; it has built hamlets, towns, and cities; it has taken the great American Desert, that arid plain that stretched from Nebraska clear across to the great Rocky Mountains, and planted those plains and watered them until the green of your meadows and the gold of your harvests stretch from the great river to the very feet of the great mountains (applause)—aye, from the Gulf to the British Dominions on the North, they have painted the landscape with the royal colors of green and gold.

How like a dream it all seems! Yesterday there was a prairie, this host moved on, and while you slept a city was builded in the night!

But another thought. What is this soldiery as it stands to-day? What are we, in case war comes with a foreign country?

Do they need the commiseration of the patriots of this country, the old soldiers?

We have in this country, of the regular army, 25,000 soldiers; of the militia in all the States about 100,000.

Crossing to the other side, what is the armament of Europe? England has a regular army of 208,000; Germany, a regular standing army of 482,000; France, 500,000; Russia, over 700,000. Germany, including field reserves that may be called into war in 48 hours, has 1,300,000; France, 1,400,000; England, 600,000; Russia, 1,700,000. Germany, when she calls on not only her field reserve, but her first and second reserve, can throw into the field by an order of her emperor, three millions of men; France, 2,600,000; Russia, 3,700,000.

I speak not of this to arouse anything like apprehension for of this great force, nearly ten millions of men, that by a stroke of the pen can be called into the armies of Europe, yet this nation, so far as her inland interests are concerned, need apprehend but little. We have here our 25,000 of the regular army—a nucleus of an army; we have our 100,000 militia, and to-day there are in the ranks of the Grand Army of the Republic, numbered last July, 387,000. We probably have in this country, in the Northern States, five to six hundred thousand of the old Union soldiers, and in time of need or danger to the coun-

try, most of them would be found able still to carry a gun. (A voice, "Loyal.") Yes, loyal to the flag. (Applause.)

Let me say this, further, that in time of danger to the country, should we be invaded by a foreign foe, I believe that those discharged soldiers of the old Confederate army would be found marching shoulder to shoulder with the old soldiers of the Union army, fighting for the old flag of stripes and stars—another force of more than five hundred thousand. (Applause.) So that the matter of invasion is not a question that we need have apprehension about or commiseration for the old soldiers. This commiseration, this care and consideration and nothing more—that every soldier who periled his life to save his country, shall never be found wanting or in poverty while he lives on the earth (applause), that the widow and the orphan of the dead soldiers, who sleep in those graves on Southern soil, shall never be found begging for bread.

Now, another consideration, and that is an important one, and I think is something that this country ought to hear, something that this country ought to consider. We, by reason of our isolated position, by our want of partaking or participating in the political broils of Europe, have fancied ourselves secure from foreign wars. This is somewhat true, but not entirely so. We are getting to be a great, big nation. We are touching elbows and reaching out to our limits. It was said of Daniel Boone, when a pioneer in Kentucky, in the early days, that when a neighbor moved in within twenty miles of him, that he began to feel cramped, that he felt he would have to move on West; he could not breathe freely.

Now, we have begun to reach up to the limits of Canada, and down pretty close to Mexico. We find ourselves wanting islands in the Southern Pacific, where we can coal our ships. We have many interests. We want to build up our commerce on the free seas; we are getting to be a great, big nation. While it is not quite as represented, that the United States of America is bounded on the north by the Aurora Borealis, and on the south as far as a fellow might want to go; on the east by the rising sun, and on the west by the horizon—while that is not quite true, yet it is true that this nation is a great, powerful nation, with interests that reach out to the uttermost parts of the earth. We are a moving, active people, acquiring interests in every land and every island of the sea. The rightful interest of the

American citizen this American nation is bound to protect wherever he may be on the face of this globe. (Applause.)

Fellow-citizens, we must have what we have not, and that is a navy. This is an important thing for these gentlemen in Congress and for the men of this nation to consider. We have no navy. Mr. Whitney, in his report in 1887, said that we had not a ship that could stand for a moment against any one of the armored ships of any one of the considerable powers of the earth, nor had our vessels even the speed to run away.

It is a further important fact that any one of the great iron-clad armored ships of Germany, of England, of France, of Spain, and even of Chili, as Admiral Porter has reported to Congress in his report of 1887, could start down this coast from Portland, in Maine, and lay under contribution or lay waste every city along the Atlantic and Pacific coast, and we would be powerless to prevent it.

It is a very important question. We have come very close to conflicts within the last few years. It has been touch and go, gentlemen. If Mr. Bayard's backbone, and the President's courage or discretion, or want of discretion, had been a little greater in the Fishery question, we might have been at war with England. Mr. Bayard made absolute demands and threats in distinct words that he would hold England responsible for the losses suffered by our fishermen in Canada, and we have not held England accountable for one dollar's loss. We have many questions that may lead to conflict in many ways. The Alaskan boundary, the question of our foreign citizenship. Germany has here many of her native-born children, and when they return to the fatherland, for temporary purposes, she has asserted the right to place these persons who had become citizens of the United States in her army; we have denied this right. We have frequently said to her, that, having become citizens of the United States, we would protect them as against all the world.

War may come at any time, and will you remember, will these gentlemen in Congress bear in mind, that of the 27 great coast cities commencing with Portland, Portsmouth, Boston, New Haven, Newport, New York, Charleston, clear around the coast, there are ten thousand millions of dollars of wealth that a foreign vessel could destroy. Such a vessel could steam into New York harbor from any one of these great powers, aye, either one of the two last armored ships of Chili could lay waste your

city here, could destroy New York, a thousand five hundred millions of property, and cause untold suffering; could destroy five hundred millions of property in Brooklyn, a hundred millions in Jersey City, or compel tribute from these cities at their will, and every other city along your coast, and you would be as powerless as a little child sleeping in its cradle.

Now, these are serious considerations, and, in the language of our toast, our gallant defenders in the late war might well merit the solicitude of the patriot, as they stood idle and powerless, watching the destruction of our fair cities and their own homes, their patriotism expended in heart-beats of despair instead of heroic action.

A bill was reported a few years ago, asking for an appropriation of \$126,000,000 for coast defenses alone. That has not been acted upon. Recently, since 1881, since the report of the Naval Board, and since Mr. Chandler took up the question, which has been followed, I must say, with commendable industry and intelligence by the present Secretary, Mr. Whitney, some advance has been made in creating a navy, but we have not one single first-class armored ship, nor one large gun. We have only a beginning of a navy to defend our coasts and our great interests. It is time that the American people were aroused on this question. It is time, it seems to me, that the politicians began to keep pace with the people. Mr. Lincoln used to say that he found the people always in advance of the politicians. On that question I venture to say that the American people have but one wish, and that is, that the nation which the soldiers and sailors of the war saved shall be preserved; that the present representatives of the people in Congress shall take the necessary means to preserve it, and the necessary means is to establish a navy and coast defenses all along our seaboard, not only of the Atlantic, but the Pacific; and if it takes \$126,000,000 to make that coast defense complete, let it be spent, the American people say—the wealth of the nation will back it. (Applause.) It is so late an hour that I cannot say all that I wanted to say, and there was much.

Mr. Whitney, in his report of 1887, took to himself much credit from the fact that in 1886 he had recommended the establishment of manufacturing works in this country that should manufacture the plate for our armored vessels, and the steel necessary to make the high powered guns for large armored ships, for the coast defenses, and to construct these great ships.

It was said in the House only last week, when they were asking appropriations of money for these ships and to build up our navy, our friend, Mr. Boutelle, now here with us to-night, called to the attention of those gentlemen with great force, that in 1886, when that measure was introduced in that Democratic Congress, giving the Secretary of the Navy the power to buy the necessary iron and steel for these vessels, and guns from foreign countries, he, Mr. Boutelle, moved to strike out the clause which authorized the Secretary of the Navy to buy that iron and that steel from foreign countries and to import it here.

Mr. Boutelle very well said, "I object, gentlemen." I believe that we should have works in this country where we can manufacture not only the iron for our ships, and the steel for our guns, but every single thing that is necessary to defend the country on the land and on the high seas in time of war. (Great applause.) And although that motion of Mr. Boutelle was carried in Committee of the Whole by a vote of 101 against 61, and that provision stricken out allowing the Secretary of the Navy to import that iron and that steel, yet, when it came back into the House, it was put in again by the very small vote of 111 to 108. Mr. Whitney—as Mr. Boutelle very well said in complimenting him in Congress the other day—had "caught on;" he saw the force of Mr. Boutelle's suggestion that this country must have a factory that can manufacture every part of an armored ship and the large guns to defend our country in time of war, the very spirit of the protective system that the Republican party have advocated. Mr. Whitney takes just credit for himself in his last report as having established in this country the works for the manufacture of our war ships and large guns. It is very interesting to read Mr. Whitney's last report, in which he says he is surprised to find the ease with which this manufactory has been established, the cheapness with which the secondary batteries can now be manufactured, and that we can now successfully compete in price with foreign governments in making these batteries, that soon we can make both the steel for the guns, the large guns themselves, and the armor for these great ships.

I feel that this is one of the most important questions to-day before the American people. You know how close we have been to war on several occasions with foreign powers. In 1887 a lieutenant of the navy said this: "About the least chance of

war with any foreign power is a chance of a war with Germany," that our interests and relations were so severed that there was no danger of conflict; and yet the very power which he thought in 1887 was so severed from us that there could be no possible conflict of interest, we have been almost on the verge of war with within a fortnight.

Now, that only illustrates the principle that while we move forward, while we sleep, in an hour when we least heed, war may be upon us, and we are in this defenseless condition along our coasts and the harbors of our great coast cities.

It is of vital importance to this country that we should build up our navy as rapidly as the money of our country can produce it, and it takes time at best. A hundred-ton gun requires a year to construct. You cannot build one of those great armored ships under two or three years.

The old forts and fortifications of our country are useless against these great modern guns. The "Woolwich Infant," cast in 1881, throws a 1,700 pound projectile that penetrates 25 feet of solid granite, and 30 feet of concrete walls of solid Portland cement. The new rifled hundred-ton gun has more than twice the initial force of the old Woolwich gun. Our fortresses would be as paper against any of these ships armed with these hundred-ton guns. We would have no defenses, and with these nitrogelatine and dynamite shells, that explode and carry fire and destruction in their track, with these great guns, these great armored vessels, they could move into our harbors, destroy our forts and our cities at will. It is of mighty importance that some measures should be taken, as rapidly as possible, to build large armored ships, and fortifications that will withstand these modern guns.

Now, one single thought further, and I will not detain you longer. Outside of material considerations, we are a proud people. We are a people who know our rights, and we have the courage to maintain them. It does not do for politicians to say, when a great wrong is done in some island of the sea, when our flag floats over a humble dwelling or over our consulate that represents the sovereignty of this nation, that any foreign nation may fire upon it and we will not take the trouble to resent that wrong. There is a great body of American people who at that wrong become aroused and they determine that that wrong shall be righted, and you cannot stop them. (Great applause.)

We therefore, knowing that this people are of this spirit, of this courage and of this sense of right and independence, should begin to determine, should begin to study, and to establish the means to maintain our rights, and to teach Germany, or England, or any other country, that we know what our rights are, and that we will have the privileges of the sea ; that we will have the privileges of commerce ; that we cannot be driven from the seas, nor from the fishing grounds of the high seas, nor the islands of the sea, nor any place where we of right may be. (Great applause.) Isn't there an old nursery rhyme running something like this:—

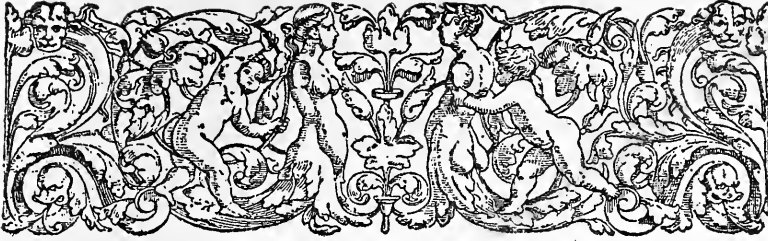
Once there reigned in the Isle of Samoa,
Our loyal friend old King Maleitoa.
The Germans desiring possessions colonial,
In a way 't was said, most clearly felonial,
Drove away our friend old King Maleitoa.
With a smile that was bland yet a shade sardonic,
Uncle Sam remarked to these cousins Teutonic,
Just wait 'till we've ships a few more,
When we'll make you skip from Samoa,
And bring back poor old Maleitoa. (Great Applause.)

The PRESIDENT then said:

Before we say good-night, I want to express in behalf of the Club, our thanks to the eloquent gentlemen, our guests and friends, for their presence with us to-night, and to hope that they may carry away with them some pleasant recollection of our third Lincoln dinner.

Gentlemen, good-night.





APPENDIX.

LETTERS OF REGRET.

[The following letters, addressed to the Secretary of the Committee, Joseph Pool, Esq., are referred to in the body of the report.]

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., February 1, 1889.

Your letter of January 30th, on behalf of the Committee having in charge the Third Annual Dinner of the Republican Club, and extending to me an invitation from the Club to be present at the banquet to be given Feb. 12th, has been received.

I recall with great pleasure an evening spent with the Club two years ago and regret that it will be impossible for me to have the pleasure this year.

Very truly yours, BENJAMIN HARRISON.

VICE-PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, D. C.

I beg you to accept my thanks for your invitation to attend the third annual dinner of the Republican Club in commemoration of the 80th birthday of Abraham Lincoln. I regret to say that my public engagements here are such that I shall be unable to be present.

Very respectfully yours, JNO. J. INGALLS.

BANGOR, Feb. 2, 1889.

I have received the invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New York to meet with them on Feb. 12th in commemoration of the eightieth birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

I would be pleased to be at your meeting, but having accepted an invitation from the La Salle Club of Chicago, who meet on Feb. 12, for the same purpose as your Club, I am not able to accept your courteous invitation.

Very truly yours, HANNIBAL HAMLIN.

SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, January 31, 1889.

I regret very much that my official duties will not permit me to leave this city at that time. The occasion is well worthy of celebration, for the light of Abraham Lincoln will extend far into the future and his memory will be treasured by generations yet unborn.

Very truly yours, JOHN SHERMAN.

UNITED STATES SENATE, February 6, 1889.

Accept my thanks for invitation to Annual Dinner in commemoration of the 80th birthday of Abraham Lincoln. I regret very much that my engagements here are such that I cannot be present. My best wishes are with you and my sincere congratulations upon our recent victories.

Very truly yours, WM. B. ALLISON.

SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 1, 1889.

I should be very glad to join the Republican Club of New York at its annual dinner, but I have a long standing engagement to meet a similar organization in Jersey City on the 12th inst.

With my best wishes, and thanking you sincerely for the honor of the invitation, I am,

Truly yours, J. R. HAWLEY.

UNITED STATES SENATE, February 6, 1889.

Your invitation to banquet, unaccountably delayed in the mail, came in my absence. I thank the club for the courtesy of the invitation, and regret exceedingly that because of other engagements I cannot be with you.

JNO. C. SPOONER.

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 1, 1889.

I thank you very heartily for your kind invitation to attend the Third Annual Dinner of the Republican Club of the city of New York, on the 12th day of February next. I regret that my duties here will probably require my presence in Washington at the time named by you, and that I am therefore compelled to decline your invitation.

Truly yours, CHAS. F. MANDERSON.

U. S. SENATE, WASHINGTON, February 2, 1889.

I am very sorry to say that I cannot hope to be absent from Washington so as to accept your kind invitation to attend the Annual Dinner in commemoration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

With much regret, I am, Yours very truly,

WM. M. EVARTS.

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 1, 1889.

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your favor of January 30, forwarding an invitation to Senator Quay for the 12th inst. I beg to advise you that Senator Quay is in Florida, and not expecting to return until the latter part of this month.

Yours truly, F. W. LEACH,

Private Secretary.

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 5, 1889.

I acknowledge the honor of the receipt of an invitation to attend the Third Annual Dinner of the Republican Club in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, at Delmonico's February 12th, together with a cordial note urging me to accept the same.

I have delayed my reply hoping that I might be able to arrange to attend, but I find that arrangements I cannot defer will necessarily keep me in Washington.

Thanking you for the honor of the invitation, I am, with great respect,
FRANK HISCOCK.

U. S. SENATE, 2, 4, '89.

It causes me much regret to inform you that on account of stress of official duties here, it will not be possible for me to avail myself of your kind invitation.
Yours truly, C. K. DAVIS.

CHARLESTON, W. VA., February 4, 1889.

Regrets; pending engagements will prevent my accepting your kind invitation.
N. GOFF.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 8, 1889.

I regret that previous engagements make it impossible for me to accept your kind invitation to the 3d Annual Dinner of the Republican Club of New York. With best wishes for the occasion, I am,

Very truly yours, JOHN D. LONG.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S., WASHINGTON, D. C., February 2, '89.

I am very much obliged for your kind invitation to dine with the Republican Club, on the 12th of February, and regret extremely that my engagements here are such at the close of the session that I fear it will be impossible for me to avail myself of your kindness.

Yours truly, H. C. LODGE.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, January 31, 1889.

Your favor of Jan. 30th inviting me to be present at Third Annual Dinner of the Republican Club in commemoration of the 80th birthday of Abraham Lincoln, to be held in New York, is received, and I beg to express my regrets that owing to previous engagements I will not be able to accept.

With very kind regards, and thanking you for your letter, I am,
Yours truly, WM. MCKINLEY, JR.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 4, 1889.

I am sorry I cannot stand by the Club or rather sit with it in this, the latest effort of your Republican enthusiasm, for I do not see how I can be absent from my duties here at that time. I feel sure, however, that whoever comes or whoever stays away, the occasion will be successful because you have, fortunately for the Club and the party, acquired the habit of being successful.

Faithfully yours, WM. WALTER PHELPS.

STATE OF MAINE, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, AUGUSTA, MAINE,
February 4, 1889.

Your esteemed favor of the 31st ult., extending a cordial invitation to attend the third annual dinner of the Republican Club of New York, at Delmonico's, Tuesday, February 12th, 1889, in commemoration of the 80th birthday of Abraham Lincoln, duly received.

The intention of your Club is praiseworthy, and I should be extremely happy to join with you in rendering homage to his name and memory, but I shall have to forego the pleasure, as my official duties will not permit me to leave the Capital during the session of the Legislature.

Thanking you for the courtesy of the invitation, I am, sir,
Very truly yours,

EDWIN C. BURLEIGH, Governor.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, STATE OF VERMONT, Waterbury, Feb. 4, 1889.

His Excellency Governor Dillingham directs me to present his compliments to the Republican Club of the City of New York, and to express his regret that he cannot be present at its third annual dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday.

FRED. A. HOWLAND, Secretary.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
BOSTON, February 4, 1889.

I have your favor of the 31st ultimo, by which you invite me to attend the third annual dinner of the Republican Club of the city of New York, on the 12th instant, in commemoration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. I greatly regret that I shall not be able to accept the same. My duties and engagements are to be of such an engrossing character that it will not be possible for me to be away from Boston at that time.

Thanking you for your courteous proffer of hospitality, and assuring you that the purposes of your club have my hearty approval,

I am yours very respectfully, OLIVER AMES.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, RHODE ISLAND.

To do anything to perpetuate the memory of that noble man, Abraham Lincoln, providentially placed in the Presidential office to become the Saviour of his country, must be a pleasure to every patriotic citizen.

Truly yours, ROYAL C. TAFT.

STATE OF CONNECTICUT, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, HARTFORD,
February 4, 1889.

I am directed by the Governor to acknowledge with his thanks your invitation to the Third Annual Dinner of your Club in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, and to express to you his regrets that other engagements will prevent his attendance.

Respectfully yours,
WM. S. PRENTICE,
Executive Secretary.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, HARRISBURG, PA., February 2, 1889.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 31st ultimo, inviting me on behalf of the Committee having charge of the Third Annual Dinner of the Republican Club, in commemoration of the 80th birthday of Abraham Lincoln, to be present on that occasion. It would give me sincere pleasure to do so, if for no other reason than to show my appreciation of that custom, which is growing up in your Club. He is not only one of the best illustrations of the effects of Republican institutions, but he, more than any one else, in my judgment, represents in his life and services Republican ideas, and makes possible the perpetuation of Republican principles through the Republican party.

Unfortunately, my engagements are such that it will be impossible for me to join you on the occasion referred to, and I am therefore gratefully compelled to decline your kind invitation.

Very cordially yours, JAMES A. BEAVER.

STATE OF OHIO, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
COLUMBUS, February 2, 1889.

Accept my thanks for the kind invitation you have extended me to attend the approaching annual dinner of the Republican Club of your city. Other engagements make it impossible for me to accept. I can, therefore, only wish you, as I do, a successful and enjoyable occasion.

Very truly yours, etc., J. B. FORAKER.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, INDIANAPOLIS, IND., Feb. 4, 1889.

I am in receipt of your invitation to attend the Third Annual Dinner of the Republican Club of the city of New York in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, on the 12th inst.

I regret that official duties are such that I cannot leave here at that time and therefore must decline your invitation.

I am pleased to know that in many parts of the country there will be an observance of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. His great service to the cause of humanity and his work in maintaining the Union should never be forgotten or fail of the fullest appreciation by every American citizen.

Thanking you for the honor of your invitation, I am,

Yours truly, S. P. HOVEY.

IOWA, EXECUTIVE OFFICE, DES MOINES, February 4, 1889.

In the absence of the Governor from the city, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 31st ult., conveying an invitation to him to be present at the third annual dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New York, in commemoration of the 80th birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

As the Governor has accepted a similar invitation for the same date, tendered by the La Salle Club of Chicago, he will probably not be able to accept.

Thanking you in the Governor's behalf for the cordial invitation,
I remain, dear sir, Your obedient servant,

FRED'K. W. HORSFELD, Private Secretary.

STATE OF MINNESOTA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, ST. PAUL,

February 4, 1889.

I acknowledge receipt of your communication dated January 31st, in which you tender me an invitation to be present at the 3d Annual Dinner of the Republican Club, in commemoration of the 80th birthday of Abraham Lincoln, to be held in your city on the 12th inst.

I very much regret that it will be impossible for me to be present, owing to the pressure of official duties.

Hoping that the occasion may be in all respects a happy one,

Very respectfully, W. R. MERRIAM,
Governor.

STATE OF NEBRASKA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, LINCOLN,

February 4, 1889.

I appreciate the honor of an invitation to attend the Third Annual Dinner of the Republican Club in commemoration of the birthday of Lincoln, on Tuesday, February 12th, 1889.

In reply I am compelled to say, that the Legislature of this State being in session, I shall be obliged to decline the same. Otherwise I would be glad to join with your Club to do honor to the memory of the great statesman, Abraham Lincoln. Very truly yours, JOHN M. THAYER.

STATE OF KANSAS, GOVERNOR'S OFFICE, TOPEKA, Feb. 4, 1889.

I acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 31st ult., inviting me to be present at the Third Annual Dinner of the Republican Club in commemoration of the 80th birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

Please convey to the members of the Club my sincere thanks for this invitation, and say to them that it would afford me great pleasure to join them in commemorating the patriotic services of the martyred Lincoln, but my official duties will be such as to render it impossible to avail myself of the opportunity.

The high standing of your Club is a guarantee that the deliberations and addresses, at the dinner, will be commensurate with the great occasion, and while I cannot be with you, I expect profit and pleasure from a perusal of the proceedings.

Very sincerely,

LYMAN U. HUMPHREY,
Governor.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 12, 1889.

I regret that I am not able to unite with your Club this evening in commemorating the fame of the illustrious statesman and philanthropist, who ranks next to Washington in the admiration and affection of the American people.

JAS. G. BLAINE.

75 W. 71st St., NEW YORK, February 5, 1889.

General W. T. Sherman presents his compliments to the Republican Club of the city of New York, and regrets his inability to accept their kind invitation for Tuesday, February 12th, 1889.

CHICAGO, February 6, 1889.

I have the pleasure of acknowledging the invitation of the Committee of the Republican Club to attend its Third Annual Dinner in commemoration of my father's birthday, and also a personal note accompanying the same. I appreciate highly the honor done me by the invitation, and would be glad to accept if I could, but I had already promised to attend a similar celebration to be held here by the La Salle Club of this city. Believe me,

Very truly yours,

ROBERT T. LINCOLN.

FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, MADISON SQUARE, NEW YORK, February 1, 1889.

I have your favor of 30th, conveying invitation of the Republican Club to attend the Third Annual Dinner commemorating Abraham Lincoln's birthday. I regret exceedingly that I cannot accept, having already accepted the invitation of the Republican Club of Newark for the same date. Thanking the Club for the courtesy of the invitation, I beg to remain,

Yours truly,

WARNER MILLER.

"NEW YORK TRIBUNE." NEW YORK, January 31, 1889.

I am greatly obliged by your courtesy in sending me an invitation from the Club for the Third Annual Lincoln Dinner.

I am afraid I cannot go, and I had to say to the Committee last night that at any rate, under the doctor's orders, I should not be able to speak. The typhoid fever left me a legacy in the way of a bronchial affection which is just now specially troublesome.

I shall try and go any way, but if I do, shall rely on my privilege as a member of the Club and buy my ticket like the rest.

With cordial thanks to you all the same, I am,

Very truly yours,

WHITELAW REID.

DETROIT, MICH., February 1, 1889.

Your very kind invitation to the third annual Lincoln dinner, given by the Republican Club, has just been received.

It would give me very great pleasure to be with you on that occasion, but I am to be at Columbus for a similar celebration.

Sincerely yours,

R. A. ALGER.

SENATE CHAMBER, ALBANY, N. Y., February 12, 1889.

I regret sincerely the impossibility of my being present at the Third annual Dinner of the Republican Club at Delmonico's this evening and cordially hope the occasion may be a felicitous and inspiring one both to the Republican Club and the Republican party.

Very truly,

FREMONT COLE.

NEW YORK, February 9, 1889.

I regret exceedingly that another engagement prevents my acceptance of your very kind invitation to attend the banquet of the Republican Club on the 12th inst.

Yours very truly, CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

117 DUANE ST., February 11, 1889.

I am notified for Senate hearing in regard to my Hospital matters, at Albany for to-morrow. I have wired the Chairman of Committee for a postponement, which for good reasons he replies cannot be granted, and I am *obliged* to be present as the business in question is entirely in my charge. I regret this more than I can say, for it makes it impossible for me to attend the Club Dinner to which you have so kindly invited me. Please accept my apologies and regrets and I am,

Yours sincerely, C. H. BLISS.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., FEBRUARY 4, 1889.

Your favor of the 30th ult., inviting me to attend the Third Annual Dinner of the Republican Club in commemoration of the 80th birthday of Abraham Lincoln, was duly received. Please accept my thanks for this compliment. I am very sorry to say that circumstances will prevent my being present, as I would greatly like to be.

Yours truly, W. H. H. MILLER.

SENATE CHAMBER, ALBANY, January 31, '89.

I regret very much that I cannot be with the Club on the occasion of the Lincoln Dinner.

Yours, etc., J. S. FASSETT.

FEBRUARY 13, 1889.

Your kind favor of January 31st, enclosing invitation to the celebration by the Lincoln Club of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln for February 12, 1889, and sent to Indianapolis, has been delayed until I find myself unable to send you my regrets in time for the meeting. I do not wish, however, to be guilty of failing to recognize the courtesy which prompted your kind note, and I hope that you will have a good time, and that this occasion shall have been one of pleasure and benefit to you all.

Regretting that it was out of the question for me to be with you, had I received the invitation in time, I remain,

Very sincerely your obedient servant, W. W. DUDLEY.

NEW YORK, January 31, 1889.

Please accept my thanks for your courteous invitation to attend the third annual dinner of your Club in commemoration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. I regret exceedingly that a business engagement at Cleveland on the 13th will prevent my availing myself of your kindness.

I am very truly yours, W. J. ARKELL.

DES MOINES, IOWA, February 5th, 1889.

I beg to acknowledge with this the receipt of your kind invitation to attend the Third Annual Dinner of your Club in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday on the 12th of February. It would afford me great pleasure if I could find it within my ability to respond to your invitation. I have been in a situation to know the value and the merit of the Republican Club of the city of New York, and I would feel it an honor to sit at its board and be its guest, and pay my respects to it in every good way, but it is impossible for me to be absent from home at that time, so I can only send my thanks and good wishes instead. Believe me,

Cordially yours, J. S. CLARKSON.

RIDGEFIELD, CONN., March 5th, 1889.

Your kind invitation to attend the Third Annual Lincoln Dinner in commemoration of his 80th birthday is just at hand.

It would have given me great pleasure to have been present upon the occasion, and you will please accept my thanks for the courtesy extended.

I regret deeply that I did not receive it until this late day, for I was in New York upon the evening of your dinner, and remembering the two preceding occasions I had a longing to be present with you and enjoy the festivities of the evening.

With thanks for your many acts of kindness and consideration I am,

Very sincerely yours, P. C. LOUNSBURY.

NEW YORK, Feb. 7, 1889.

I have discovered that I must leave here Sunday morning for the South, and so cannot avail myself of your very kind and cordial invitation. I trust you will have a fine banquet, and know in advance how much your guests will enjoy themselves. With sincere regret at my inability to attend, I am,

Yours truly, JNO. S. WISE.

THE "PRESS," PHILADELPHIA, January 31st, 1889.

I am greatly obliged to your Committee for the honor of an invitation to the Third Annual Dinner of the Republican Club, and deeply regret that it is impossible for me to accept. I have already accepted a dinner engagement here which is of such a character that I cannot well recall it. Please convey to your associates my thanks for the courtesy, and believe me,

Sincerely yours, CHAS. EMORY SMITH.





